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Significance of Structure in Cognition: A Study on Bangla Counting System

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ABSTRACT

Cognitive processing of complex expression is relative to the way information is structurally encoded. Under this assumption, this paper seeks to investigate how information relevant to the counting process is structurally encoded in Bangla numerals. It is noted already in literature (Hurford, 1987) that the construction of numerals as the collection-representing expressions have certain similarities with the construction of non-numeral expressions: Basic universal patterns in the scaffolding of numerals in larger constructions and the formation of complex numerals can be explained in terms of natural parallels and analogies with non-numeral constructions. This remains instrumental in asserting the fact that syntacto-semantic peculiarities associated with Bangla numeral construction can be captured with the help of a theoretical framework primarily developed in syntax.

সারাংশ

মানুষের সংখ্যাগত জ্ঞানের মননজাত সংগঠনটিকে ব্যক্ত করার কাজে যথেষ্ট জটিলতা আছে। এই জটিলতার স্বরূপ উদ্ঘাটন করার অভিপ্রায় নিয়েই আমরা বর্তমান গবেষণায় অনুসন্ধান করেছি সংখ্যাগত জ্ঞানের মননজাত সংগঠনটি বাংলা সংখ্যা গণনার ক্ষেত্রে কীভাবে প্রক্ষেপিত হয়? ইতিপূর্বে হারফোর্ড (১৯৮৭) জানিয়েছেন জটিল সংখ্যার উদ্ভাৱনকালে আমরা যে সমস্ত গাণিতিক প্রক্রিয়া অবলম্বন করি তার সঙ্গে অন্যান্য গণিতাৱীত বিষয়সমূহের সাদৃশ্য আছে। বৃহত্তর ও জটিল সংখ্যার নিৰ্মাণ প্রক্রিয়ায় যে সৰ্বজনগ্রাহ্য ছাঁচ বা প্যাটার্ন লক্ষ্য করা যায়, তার সঙ্গে আমাদের প্রাত্যহিক জীবনের বিভিন্ন বস্তু, ঘটনা, বিসয়ের উপস্থাপনায় পারস্পর্য আছে। ভাষাতত্ত্বে সংখ্যাতত্ত্বের মূল উপপাদ্য সংখ্যাগুলিকে নিয়ে আলোচনা করা না হলেও গাণিতিক ধারণাগুলির উপর নির্ভর করতে হয়। তাই ভাষার উৎপত্তির ভিত্তিমূলে সংখ্যার সঙ্গে তার সুস্পষ্ট যোগসূত্র বিদ্যমান। আমরা বাংলা সংখ্যার সংগঠনে যে ধরনের বাক্যাৰ্থগত বিশিষ্টতা অনুসন্ধান করেছি তাকে বাক্যতত্ত্বের সাধারণ তাত্ত্বিক কাঠামো দ্বারা এই গবেষণা পত্রে ব্যাখ্যা করেছি।

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1. Introduction

Cognitive processing of complex expression is relative to the way information is structurally encoded. Under this assumption, this paper seeks to investigate how information relevant to the counting process is structurally encoded in Bangla numerals. It is noted already in literature (Hurford, 1987) that the construction of numerals as the collection-representing expressions have certain similarities with the construction of non-numeral expressions: Basic universal patterns in the scaffolding of numerals in larger constructions and the formation of complex numerals can be explained in terms of natural parallels and analogies with non-numeral constructions. This remains instrumental in asserting the fact that syntacto-semantic peculiarities associated with Bangla numeral construction can be captured with the help of a theoretical framework primarily developed in syntax.

2 Research Objectives

To address the research concern mentioned in Section 1, this paper will focus on those structures which are relevant for the interpretation of the numerals. By this, we do exclude those constructions which involve numerals as the modifier of nominal. Consider the following expressions:

1. *tin hajar nOy So bottriS*
three thousand nine hundred thirty two
Three thousand nine hundred and thirty two
2. *tettriS-Ti am*
thirty three-Cla mango
Thirty three mangoes

As per our discussion, then, this paper is concerned about the construction type of (1). Construction type of (2) will be kept aside for some other occasion. The construction type that we intend to deal with differs from the latter one in various respects. For example, construction mentioned in (2) is constitutive of a head (e.g. *am*) and a modifier (e.g. *tettriS*).^{*} As per the grammatical convention of Bangla, it might seem to one, that modifiers are always preceding the head. On the basis of this understanding, if one tries to pass the judgment that *bottriS* in (1) is head and whatever precedes it – e.g. here in this case *tin hajar nOy So* – would be categorized as modifier. But this is certainly not the case. In a construction like (1), it is often not easy to answer which one has the status of the head. Thus, the immediate task for this paper is to explain the following underneath.

- i. To find the processes involved in the cognition of Bangla counting system;
- ii. To determine the head status in Bangla numeric expressions; and,

^{*} Though the phrase like (2) is treated to have a functional head (e.g. *tettriS-Ti*) rather than lexical, here the lexical head is put to the front in a more traditional way to make the distinction between (1) and (2).

- iii. To seek for an X-bar scaffolding that would possibly account for the underlying structure of Bangla numerals.

Probable solutions of these would be attempted in the following sections.

3. Discussion

The questions addressed in section 2 could be given some solutions, though subject to further modifications, with the execution of the difference between lexical and functional heads along with the body-part model responsible for cognition of numerals across the languages over the world. Heine (1997:19) mentioned “numeral systems across languages are motivated” and this motivation is claimed to be genetic, though no longer accessible to native speakers as well as historical linguists. According to him, there lies a notion of “base number” in numeral systems, seen cross-linguistically, which has kind of embodied conceptual basis. Heine (1997:19) mentioned some concepts that are prevalent in counting system of Mamvu, a central African Nilo-Saharan language are following.

- a) Concrete items: ‘hand’, ‘foot’ and ‘person’
- b) Actions: ‘seize’ and ‘spare’
- c) Location: ‘above’

As human hand has five fingers it might be conceived of to become the silent base in counting systems of many languages like Mamvu. But the base number may vary from language to language. It could be ten with the fact – human hands have ten fingers, in the conceptual level; it may be twenty as a person in its entirety has twenty fingers with the addition of feet to hands. Heine (1997:21) propounds that “the body-part model is in fact ubiquitous”. This model has influences, though in an opaque way, on many languages like English which has a decimal counting system as its base. Moreover, Heine (1997:32) talks of the distinction between *semantic transparency* and *pattern transparency*. Our concern is not about the first kind of transparency where the genetic motivation is fully reconstructed as language such as Mamvu has the forms like *reli* ‘one’ and *eli qode reli* ‘six’ that can be construed as ‘the hand seizes one’ where *eli* and *qode* stand for ‘the hand’ and ‘seizes’ respectively. On the contrary here we will deal with pattern transparency where the etymology of linguistic forms of numerals is not easy to discover. Bangla is an instance of this sort because the etymology of *Ek*, *dui*, *tin*, *Egaro*, *kuRi* etcetera is still not unfolded. Thus, under this circumstance our concentration should resort to the latter one, i.e. *pattern transparency* that states that languages having their base numbers like 5, 10 or 20 are suggestive of the body-part model.[†] Now, our primary task is to discover the base number prevailing in

[†] It could be found that more than body based concept, counting terms from *Ek* ‘one’ to *dOS* ‘ten’ in Bangla preserve their familiarity with both nature and culture while encountering the following heuristics.

Eke chOndro for comparing the number *Ek* ‘one’ with the number of the moon.

duie pokkho for denoting that the number of fortnights is similar with the number *dui* ‘two’.

tine netro for making it clear that number of eyes of God matches with the magnitude of *tin* ‘three’.

chare bed for matching the number *char* ‘four’ with the number of Vedas.

paMce pOncoban for placing a similarity between *paMc* ‘five’ and number of arrows mentioned in myth.

Bangla counting system. In Bangla number names are interpreted with a reference to a positional decimal system consisting of (i) ten numbers ranging from 0 to 9, and (ii) a scale marked with position for each power of 10 as stated in (3).

3.	koTi	nijut	lokkho	ojut	hajar	SOtok	dOSok	ekok
	10^7	10^6	10^5	10^4	10^3	10^2	10^1	10^0

With the use of this positional decimal system, one can interpret (4), (5) and (6) in the following way:

4. $67 = 10^1(6) + 10^0(7)$

5. $20 = 10^1(2)$

6. $2 = 10^0(2)$

As per this analysis, then, the meaning construal of sixty seven consists of a place value (henceforth, p-value) and a face value (henceforth, f-value). The domain of any place value is the positional decimal system, whereas the domain of face value is a set having ten numbers ranging from 0 to 9. With this understanding then any string of numbers can be represented according to the following scheme:

7. $\sum p_i\text{-value}(f_i\text{-value}) = 10^i(N)$, where $i \in \{0, 1, 2, \dots, \alpha\}$ & $N = \{0, 1, 2, \dots, 9\}$

The traditional main-stream representation of (4) (i.e. $67 = 10^1 \times 6 + 10^0 \times 7$) is replaced with a much efficient functional definition of (7) where p-value is behaving much like a function for which the domain of argument or the f-value is the set of $\{0, 1, 2, \dots, 9\}$ and the domain of p-value is the positional domain system as per our discussion.

Thus, it's been clear from this above analysis that Bangla uses decimal system in counting numerals. Our emphasis would be that the place value depicted above is of some interest while dealing with following linguistic data.

8. *e-te dOS-er bhalo ho-b-e*
 Dem-Loc ten-Gen good be-Fut-3p
 It is for the greater good of men

9. *SO-e SO-e lok aS-ch-φ-e*

chOye ritu for denoting the number *chOy* 'six' standing for the number of seasons.

Sate Somudro for placing the magnitude of *Sat* 'seven' being similar to number of oceans.

aTe OSToboSu for relating number *aT* 'eight' with eight deities.

nOye nObogroho for relating the number *nOy* 'nine' to the number of planets.

dOSe dik for finding similarity between the number *dOS* 'ten' and the number of directions.

But neither such heuristics can be found for *Egaro* 'eleven', *baro* 'twelve', *tEro* 'thirteen' and so forth nor they are composition of the basic heuristics described above.

hundred-Loc hundred-Loc man-Pl come-Prog-Prs-3p
People are coming in lots

10. *michil-e hajar-e hajar-e lok bhiR kor-ech-φ-e*
Procession-Loc thousand-Loc thousand-Loc man-Pl crowd do-Perf-Prs-3p
Thousands of men has gathered for the procession

11. *lakh-e hOyto Ek-Ta-o mil-b-e na*
lakh-Loc perhaps one-Cla-Ints find-Fut-3p Neg
Probably the same would not be found among thousands

12. **tiriS-e tiriS-e lok as-ch-φ-e*

13. **SaT-e SaT-e bhiR ho-ech-φ-e*

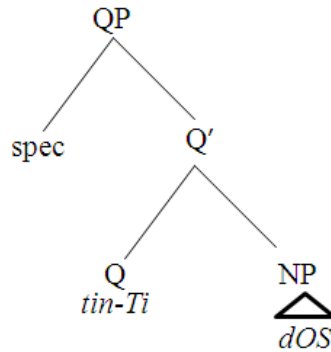
The fact seems intriguing during the discussion that the place values are licensed to occur in (8) to (11). Moreover, the place values are not denoting the exact magnitudes of them while these sentences are getting interpreted. Rather they are utilized to designate some notion of “group”. When the sentence (8) is uttered it does not mean the betterment of only ten people. Instead, it means betterment of a bunch of fellow. In a same manner, (9) is not telling us the coming of exact one or two hundred people; it refers to a vast group of folks. Likewise, (10) is denoting a crowd of people gathered in a procession. (11) is also not auguring the scarcity of something only among lakhs; it might denote the laxity of that among cores. (12) and (13) are not grammatical in Bangla as numbers other than place values like ‘tiriS’ and ‘SaT’ can’t be used to denote any notion of group in the way p-values can refer to.

Now, our attention at this point should incline toward determining the head status of numerical expressions in Bangla. As stated in section 2, the head modifier distinction is not overt in case of dealing with these types of expressions. Let’s divide these expressions into two classes. One is *simplex numerals* (i.e. p-values and multiples of those values such as *dOS*, *EkSo*, *kuRi*, *tiriS*, *paMcSo* etc.). Latter is the class that consumes all kinds of *complex numerals* such as *Egaro*, *ektriS*, *SatSoTTi*, *EkSo ek*, *duhajar paMc*, *tin hajar nOySo bottriS* etc. Now, a general question might be on the stage as to whether the head status of first type differs from the second class or not. Our proposal is it differs, but the two classes share a common thing regarding the nature of their headedness. Let’s take multiples of p-values at the first place. The underlying form of them might be represented like the following.

14. *tiriS* ‘thirty’ = *tin-Ti dOS* ‘three times ten’
15. *Sottor* ‘seventy’ = *Sat-Ti dOS* ‘seven times ten’
16. *duSo* ‘two hundred’ = *du-Ti (Ek)So* ‘two times hundred’
17. *tin hajar* ‘three thousand’ = *tin-Ti hajar* ‘three times thousand’

This type of numerals, then, is conceived to have Num-Cla (e.g. *tin-Ti*, *Sat-Ti*, *du-Ti*) form as their internal structure. As Bhattacharya (1999) suggested, Q can be construed of as head of the entire phrase as the scope of Q is taken to quantify the nouns following them. Here, the Num-Cla cluster is quantifying the p-values (*dOS*, *EkSo*, *hajar*) that follow them. Thus, the structure of these numerals could be like the below.

18.



The governing head (Num-Cla here) takes the p-value ($dOS = 10^1$) as its compliment. Only *dOS* can be schematized as *ek-Ti dOS*. Numbers between *Ek* ‘one’ to *nOy* ‘nine’ might be extended to form such as *ek-Ti ekOk* ($=10^0$) for *Ek*, *du-Ti ekOk* for *dui* etc. Thus, what we can conclude here is that *simplex numerals* have a functional item Q as their head element that takes p-values as sister compliment.

Now, let’s get into the issue of *complex numerals* in Bangla. This type of constructions is often formed following the process of compounding – traditionally, known as *samāsa* and further subcategorized as *samāhāradvandva* (collective co-ordinative). Johannessen (1998:84) speaks of instances of *empty conjunctions* in many languages in the world. As per him, many languages like Cayuga, a Northern Iroquoian language of Ontario, have empty conjunctions specific to certain categories, but not for others.[‡] Keeping analogy with his observation, it could be hypothesized that Bangla has this type of coordination while dealing with complex classes of numerals such as *tin hajar nOySo tiriS* ‘three thousand nine hundred thirty’, *Ekso dOS* ‘one hundred ten’, *bottriS* ‘thirty two’ etc.[§] These expressions can be dealt with in following way.

19. *tin hajar nOySo tiriS* ‘three thousand nine hundred thirty’ = *tin-Ti hajar ebON nOy-Ti (Ek)So ebON tin-Ti dOS* ‘three times thousand and nine times hundred and three times ten’ = three 10^3 and nine 10^2 and three 10^1 .

[‡] Cayuga executes the use of *empty conjunctions* while coordinating verbs and clauses only. In case of nouns it uses *hni*.

[§] Even empty conjunctions are not very uncommon in Bangla while having the following in hand.

1. *din ebON rat* > *din-rat* ‘day and night’

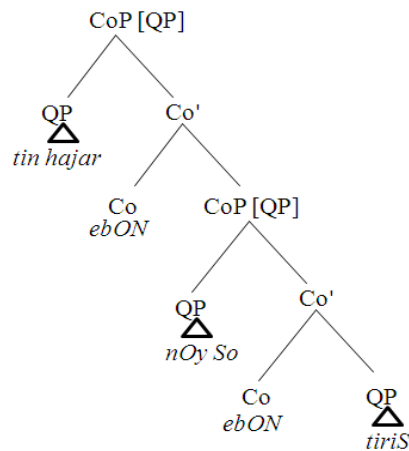
2. *chOndro ebON Surjo ebON groho ebON tara* > *chOndro-Surjo-groho-tara* ‘moon, sun, planet, and star’

20. *Ekso dOS* ‘one hundred ten’ = *ek-Ti (Ek)So ebON ek-Ti dOS* ‘one time hundred and one time ten’ = one 10^2 and one 10^1 .

21. *bottriS* ‘thirty two’ = *dui ebON tin-Ti dOS* ‘two and three times ten’ = two 10^0 and three 10^1 .

The constructions in (19), (20) and (21) consist of a functional category *ebON* ‘and’ that serves to the interpretation of *collections* and contributes to the “interpretations of its complements”. Here, modifying elements are the conjuncts that are implying about the nature of these *collections* (e.g. collection of numbers). Thus, the phrases above are considered to be conjunction phrases (CoP in short) with QPs as conjuncts. (19) can be sketched like below.**

22.



The same format would take care of the structures like (20) and (21) respectively. It's somehow clear that *complex numerals* are headed by the functional element Co that takes QPs as arguments. This functional Co, though empty, makes the fact explicit that these expressions are all about collections of simplex forms with Q head.

Bangla numeral system makes use of decimal format as its base number which is, in turn, suggestive of body-part model of numeral cognition seen pervasively across the languages over the world. On this ground Bangla counting system could be branched into two subclasses such as simplex form of

** As per Johannessen (1998:109) Bangla should follow the C-H-S order for being an SOV language. He partially followed the LCA and antisymmetry thesis of Kayne (1994) that states only two orders, S-H-C and C-H-S seem acceptable in UG. Kayne (1994:36) further puts stress on the universality of S-H-C order across the languages. On this point Johannessen (1998:109) differs from Kayne saying that if S-H-C order is the only one licensed in UG then what one would do with the issues like parallel directionality between heads, verbs, adpositions, conjunctions and their complements. Johannessen (1998:110) advanced here to simply add a directionality parameter to the model of UG. But, Kayne (1994:47) showed in chapter 5 that no directionality parameter is needed. In case of postpositions the complement position moves into the specifier position of that adpositional phrase. In OV construction the O must move leftward past the V into higher specifier position and IP must pass under a leftward movement into [spec, C⁰] position where IP precedes the C⁰ [Kayne (1994:48)]. Thus, here in case of Bangla the S-H-C order is maintained in structuring CoP.

numerals and complex forms made of those simplex ones. Further, it's been postulated in this paper that both these forms have functional heads in common rather than lexical ones. But, the two types differ in one feature. Simplex forms have functional Q as their head quantifying over the place values whilst, the complex type is headed by the functional conjunctions making them a CoP.

4. Conclusion

Bangla numeral system makes use of decimal format as its base number which is, in turn, suggestive of body-part model of numeral cognition seen pervasively across the languages over the world. On this ground Bangla counting system could be branched into two subclasses such as simplex form of numerals and complex forms made of those simplex ones. Further, it's been postulated in this paper that both these forms have functional heads in common rather than lexical ones. But, the two types differ in one feature. Simplex forms have functional Q as their head quantifying over the place values whilst, the complex type is headed by the functional conjunctions making them a CoP.

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Talks around the 'Text': Co-existences, Co-ordinations, and Co-operations

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ABSTRACT

Texts are considered as one of the most crucial tools of imparting knowledge in an educational setup like schools. But texts cannot be dissociated from its context and this context dependency of a text is not devoid of those issues which are crucial in imposing controls on the transmission itself. The classroom 'talk' is constructed keeping the texts in its center. In a multilingual country like India, where texts and 'talks' around them are often controlled by dominant and monolithic voices of a Nation-State, the issues like teaching, evaluation, learning and learnability need in depth scrutiny. This paper aims to focus on how crucial the concept of text is and how deep is its ramifications in the educational activities where the learner is an active participant. Most importantly, this article will try to explore how the coexistences, coordination, and cooperation of multiple voices can be seen as a positive resource in the educational scenario of India.

সারাংশ

বিদ্যায়তনিক পরিসরে জ্ঞানের হাতবদল প্রক্রিয়ায় পাঠ বা টেক্সটকে অন্যতম প্রধান প্রকরণ হিসেবে গণ্য করা হয়। কোন শ্রেণীকক্ষের পঠন-পাঠন প্রক্রিয়ার সন্দর্ভ এই পাঠকে ঘিরেই রচিত বা নির্মিত হয়। কিন্তু এই পাঠ কখনই প্রতিবেশ-বিযুক্ত কোন অস্তিত্ব নয়। পাঠের এই প্রতিবেশ নির্ভরতা জ্ঞানের হাতবদল প্রক্রিয়ার উপর লাগু করে নানাবিধ নিয়ন্ত্রণ। ভারবর্ষের মত একটি বহুভাষিক দেশে, যেখানে প্রায়শই জাতি-রাষ্ট্রের প্রভাবশালী ও একবাদী স্বর পাঠ এবং তাকে কেন্দ্র করে গড়ে ওঠা সন্দর্ভকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে চলে, সেখানে শিক্ষণ, মূল্যায়ন, শিখন ও শেখার দক্ষতা বা যোগ্যতার মত ধারণাগুলির পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খ বিচার-বিশ্লেষণ প্রয়োজন। বিশেষ করে শিক্ষার্থীর ধারণা কিভাবে নির্মিত হয় তা বোঝার জন্য এই বিচার-বিশ্লেষণ জরুরি। কোন পঠন-পাঠন প্রক্রিয়ায়, যেখানে শিক্ষার্থী একজন সক্রিয় অংশগ্রাহী, সেখানে পাঠের ধারণা কতখানি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ও তার প্রভাব কত গভীরে সঞ্চারিত হতে পারে তা খুঁজে দেখা এই আলোচ্যের উদ্দেশ্য। সর্বোপরি, ভারতীয় শিক্ষার পরিসরে বহুস্বরের সহাবস্থান, সহযোগিতা ও সমন্বয় কিভাবে প্রকৃতিই সদর্থক সম্পদ হয়ে উঠতে পারে তাও এই আলোচ্যের অন্যতম আলোচ্য বিষয়।

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1

Since a discussion on testing and assessment in the educational set up cannot escape the issues of texts those are used in teaching learning processes, the current paper decides to focus on how crucial the concept of text is and how deep is its ramifications in the educational activities. Therefore, the issues of teaching, learning and evaluation of Indian languages will be seen through a lens which wants to go beyond the text to explore how enumerable layers of other textualities involved with a text (though remains invisible most of the time) influence various educational discourses. To get into these issues, we have chosen an avenue which in first sight may seem to be longer and time taking but we do feel strongly having an understanding of how the otherness of any text is crucial in upholding the texture of the multilingual India.

We have often heard people are talking about the biological maturation of individual in the context of education and learning. In those discussions, learners and learning are reduced into an enterprise which hardly believes that both of them situated within a larger set up which we identify as the politico-democratic framework of Nation-State in some of our writings (see Karmakar, 2014). The reason why we refer to the framework of Nation-State is simple and straightforward. It would not take much effort to appreciate that ‘modern education’ owes a lot from the emergence of Nation-State. Similarly, the general health of Nation-State also depends on an effective vision for the education: Argument for Mother Tongue Education is one such vision which intends to introduce “a centralized mechanism to facilitate teaching, learning and evaluation in Indian languages” as per the agenda of Multipurpose Indian Language Evaluation System (MILES) to be implemented throughout India under the supervision of National Testing Service(India) previously known as Centre for Testing and Evaluation. The way, the goal has been stated in favor of a centralized mechanism, does not seem to us a politically correct articulation since one size would not fit to all in a country like India which is well known for its cultural plurality. And, this is exactly the point where we should bring the notion of cultural maturation besides the dominant idea of biological maturation to appreciate the fact that we are culturally different from each other in spite of being biologically similar. Time has come to say that differences are not the weakness but the strength of this existence - since evolution has taught us that not only the similarities but also the differences are preferred by the Nature. More interestingly, nature prefers *coexistences*, *coordinations*, and *cooperations*.

With this view, then, an article on “teaching and testing in Hindi and Indian languages” seems to us *a-most-sought* effort in recent past to decentralize the opportunities in order to empower the marginal communities. Except Mother Tongue based Education what else could be the most effective approach in this direction! – Since, decentralization is the most essential ingredient for a nation’s progress.

Issues of linguality in the context of teaching, learning and evaluation are directly involved with the construction of the self. Therefore, Section 1 will concentrate on some of the theoretical issues which are crucial in setting the background for the significance of ‘text’. As texts are instrumental in shaping a learner, the very notion of learner is examined critically in Section (2) and (3). This in turn will illuminate our understanding of what comes along with the text, namely the *context*. Section (4) refers to the provisions that we have in India to promote Indian languages *vis-a-vis* the reality with some discussion on how to bridge the gap. This discussion is augmented further with the inclusion of Section (5) discussing on how text should be placed within the backdrop of ‘talk’. Section (6) is an effort to make case for ongoing assessment in support of the claim that talks around the texts could provide a way to evaluate the gains no matter how bizarre this may sound.

2

Development of individual self is governed/determined not only by the various principles of biological maturation but also by the principles of socio-cultural maturation generally imposed by the milieu within which the individual is situated. Under this situation the issues of learning and learnability seek some attention to various internal as well as external factors involved in the process of making and unmaking of selves. While dealing with the issues of learning and learnability, a review of various theoretical positions seems to be of absolute necessity in order to sort out different dimensions of the intended analysis along which the notions of learning and learnability should be understood. This, in turn, will help in proposing various methods for testing and evaluation.

What seems to be of more interesting is the fact that scholars are not unanimously agreed on any standard interpretation of learning. For example, Chomsky's (Innatism) proposal on knowledge acquisition talks about the bioprogram to uphold the supreme autonomy of the Individual (1988); Vygotsky's (Cultural historical psychology) proposal is much in favor of exploring how the development of self is preconditioned by the external factors such as text, classroom ecology etc. (Yasnitsky *et al.*, 2014); Piaget (Genetic Epistemology) is in favor of explaining learning as the internalization of externally represented knowledge (1968); and, Bruner (Social Constructivism) is promoting the view that internal and external are co-constructed through the process of learning across different points of time and space (1960). A critical evaluation of these different standpoints, irrespective of their differences, often helps us in locating the problem of learning and learnability in different dimensions. In other words, it indicates the nature of complexities involved in learning and learnability.

Linguistic knowledge, as the content, is not a homogeneous whole; rather a heterogeneous whole encompassing social, economical, and political dimensions of existence. – As a heterogeneous whole it is also extended both in space and time. As a consequence, linguistic knowledge brings with itself a whole lot of other issues which are crucial from the viewpoint of learning and learnability. For example, the concept of learner as container is not a simple one. Design of the learner as a container is also determined by the tensions holding between contemporary social, economical as well as political interests. What needs to be stressed here is that, learner as a container is not at all static neither empty – as is believed once – rather, a complex emerging system. The relation between content (here, in this case the linguistic knowledge) and container (the learner) is of symbiotic in nature. Above all, what seems to be more important in this context is that they can influence each other to the extent of complete change.

As per this discussion, content-container division is that essential imposition which locates an individual within the history. For, an individual being distinguished and unified is so important that the discussion of content (= linguistic knowledge) and container (= learner) cannot even be done in isolation. Therefore, how a paper on teaching-learning as well as testing and evaluation can overlook these issues which are of utmost significance?

3

As per our discussion in Section 2, learner is a complex adaptive system emerging out of an ongoing interaction holding between different types of forces. These forces are constitutive of some specific types of contexts – in the back ground of which the Learner is figured. Following Bernstein (1975), we will classify these contexts into four types, namely (i) regulative, (ii) instructional, (iii) imaginative, and (iv) interpersonal. The *regulative context* is all about the authority relationships where learner is made aware of the rules of the moral order and their various backings. In *instructional context*, learner learns about the objective nature of the objects and persons and acquires skills of various kinds. The

imaginative context encourages learner to experiment and re-create her/his world on her/his own terms and in her/his own way. In *interpersonal context*, the learner is made aware of affective states—her/his own and others.

A critical investigation of these four contexts, as the embodiment of various social, political, and economical factors in their historicity, reveals the fact that within the politico-democratic framework of Nation and State, learner is an emerging construction.

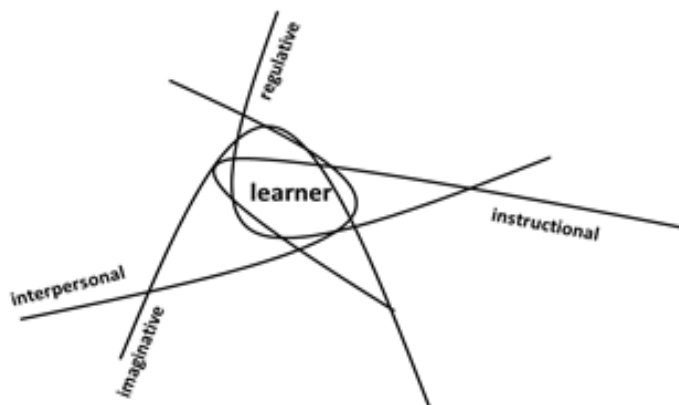


Fig. 1: Learner as the network of contexts

A careful investigation of Bernstein's proposal, then, will reveal that testing and evaluation of teaching-learning processes cannot bypass the issues relevant to this complex network of context—particularly, in a situation, when a specific type of alienation is induced in each of these layers to make the bifurcation of container and the content prominent. Here at this juncture the notion of content becomes important.

Unlike the mainstream linguistic practitioners where linguistic content is divorced from the very process of its coming into the existence in the name of scientific rigor, this investigation likes to promote the knowledge of language as something which is situated in its history. As a consequence, therefore, one needs also to enquire the form of the knowledge in order to address the issues of learning and learnability. We see neither any rationale nor any justification in dissociating the codified forms of knowledge from those processes which are extremely crucial both in producing and maintaining the status quo of the forms of knowledge in a society. We also believe, what is being transmitted through the channels of education to a learner bears certain definite impacts of those processes which construct the codified forms knowledge. Under this situation, linguistic codes include much more than what is being proposed traditionally in the mainstream linguistics. In support of this argument, we will like to introduce Bernstein's model of code (1975) emphasizing learner's construal within a solid black square in the schema below:

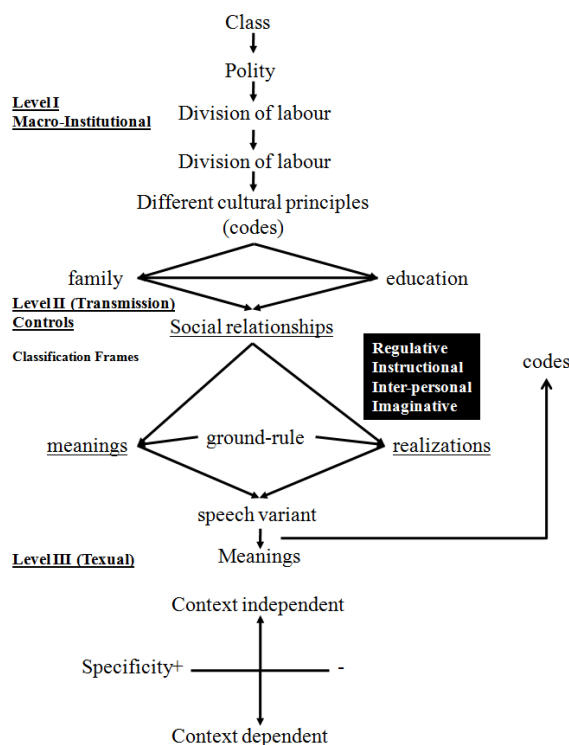


Fig. 2: Schematic representation of codified knowledge type and the learner-construction

The division of content (= linguistic knowledge) and the container (= the learner) as is discussed earlier should be understood in the light of the above scheme presented in Figure 2. In addition to this, what we want to put forward is the fact that the issues relevant to the level of textual cannot be discussed without referring to Level I and II of figure 2. This, according to us, is crucial in understanding the otherness of the text.

4

As is obvious from the discussion above, context (in)dependency of a text is not devoid of those issues which are crucial in imposing controls on the transmission itself. As a consequence, contextualizing teaching as well as learning of a text cannot turn away itself from the issues of broader concerns. Any concern related to the promotion of “a centralized mechanism to facilitate teaching, learning and evaluation in Indian languages” must pay enough attention to the fact that their steps should not come up with a more hostile form of linguistic hierarchy; because as per Bourdieu (1991)

“...the dialectical relation between school system and the labour market – or, more precisely, between the unification of the educational (and linguistic) market, linked to the introduction of educational qualifications valid nation-wide, independent (at least officially) of the social or regional characteristics of the bearers, and the unification of the labour market (including the development of the state, administration and the civil service) – which played the most decisive role in devaluing dialects and establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices”.

In such a situation, then, contextualization of the principles and the policies have to be carefully scrutinized much before their implementation to restore the basic tenets of sociality, namely *coexistence*, *coordination*, and *cooperation* leading towards to path of freedom for all. This strengthens the case why do we need to have some understanding of various provisions granted to individuals by the Indian constitution.

An individual learner in an education system embodies rights and provisions which are constitutionally offered by the State; and State is bound to protect all such constitutional rights and provisions to ensure the freedom and dignity of the Individuals. Indian constitution is propounded to secure the cultural and educational rights as the most fundamental ones. It expressed its concern unequivocally against all sorts of discrimination on the basis of language. Part XVII, Chapter IV, Clause 350A of Indian Constitution argues that facility for instruction in mother tongue in primary education has to be guaranteed. Irrespective of such safeguards, it is found that in primary education the number of Indian languages used for medium of instruction is decreasing in a much faster rate: As per the statistics provided by NCERT in its All India Education Survey the number of Indian languages used in education as medium of instruction is as follows:

	Fifth Survey	Sixth Survey	Seventh Survey
Primary	43	33	26
Upper Primary	31	25	23
Secondary	22	21	20
Higher Secondary	20	18	18

Figure 3: Decreasing number of Indian Languages in Education

The data represented in Figure 3 sets the alarm. Decrease in the number of Indian Languages in the Indian classroom has a direct impact on the Individuals' right and a gross violation of different constitutional provisions proposed to secure the right of Individuals. In a situation like this, then, it is of less wonder that concerns will be reflected from different corners of a State to restore the status quo for Indian Languages. One such concern is NCF 2005 on the teaching of Indian Languages. However, the issue is not restricted only to the teaching of Indian Languages in the Schools; the issue is the effective use of Indian Languages in dispersing the knowledge in Indian classrooms. This essentially means the delivery of all forms of knowledge in Indian languages. There should be enough provisions to teach and to learn the topics of social sciences, humanities, and sciences in Indian languages. Therefore, an effective policy should pay its attention to the various ways through which the functional loads of Indian languages can be increased considerably. Restricting the use of Indian languages only within the domain of literary studies is in no way going to secure the goal we are looking for in this highly technocratic world. In many cases it is noticed that due to the lack of provisions to study the subject matter in one's own language, the learners are facing a severe problem of incomprehensiveness. This in turn results either into the poor performance of the students or into the increasing rate of drop outs. The problem which is often identified as central in addressing the issue of mother tongue based classroom instructions either positively or negatively is the lack of text book materials in local languages. Those who are interested in approaching the problem positively express their frustration for having not enough TLM in local languages; whereas the others who are interested in English-only-model express their blind faith on the inability of the 'vernaculars' to express the modern form of knowledge. In one way or the other, both of these two groups agree on the point that Indian languages are of hardly any use in teaching and learning due to the lack of TLMs. This is not a very new and recent view that they express on the issue of teaching and learning through Indian Languages. In fact, Tagore (1915) has registered this type of obligation in his work on education. What seems to be of interesting is Tagore's response where he clearly argues that TLMs will never develop in Indian Languages until and unless the teachers show their creative capacity to deliver the content in local languages. To us, this creative act is not a mere act of translation: it also includes a process of

situating the global appeal of knowledge in a local context. Let us share a small instance from personal experience. In post graduate level, we teach logic and mathematics in a linguistic programme. In this course, if we fail to provoke the students to think on – how Chomsky's TG grammar is useful in explaining the sentence structure of Bengali language, or how creatively lambda abstraction can be used in explaining absurdity as is created in Bengali rhymes – then the effort of promoting mother tongue based education will lost its momentum. The reason why we have shared our post-graduate classroom experience is simple – because we do keep our faith on the coordinating multilingualism as against the notion of subtractive multilingualism which is followed by and large in the language policies of India. Until and unless we instigate certain attitudinal changes in our teaching and learning behaviour no TLM can be produced in local languages; and, learners will also develop some bad faith that certain forms of knowledge cannot be practiced in all languages. This would definitely contribute in developing an intolerant attitude and will ensure the disappearance of many languages in near future.

5

In order to come up with a more efficient form of teaching and learning tools and techniques along with a proper evaluation system, we need to know first what are prevalent believes regarding the language education and how these believes are doing harm. The most problematic view is the language textbooks used in schools. These textbooks are written by some author who is well-versed in the dominant variety of a language, and often exclude the dialectal varieties of that particular language. In this process of excluding the non-dominant dialectal forms of the language, content is also getting affected. Let us elaborate the point with some concrete examples: Language text books to teach standard language excludes the regional varieties of Bengali in due course of compiling the teaching and learning materials. Once the book is compiled it is sent to different parts of West Bengal. And teachers are also following those texts without understanding what type of damage they are doing in the name of teaching. A book written and published from Kolkata if followed blindly in different regions of West Bengal may results into a permanent damage due to the fact that this practice fails to appreciate the significance of local varieties of standard linguistic norm of the land. These varieties should not be understood in terms of their respective forms – the way mainstream linguistics understand them; rather it should be perceived as an organic whole in virtue of containing those information which are the essential ingredients of the bio-cultural ecologies of their respective regions. Since in most of the cases text books are produced without keeping in mind the heterogeneity of various bio-cultural ecologies of a land, the knowledge of language which is already available to the learners are either overlooked or ignored. As a result the learners who are not the speaker of the dominant language variety face a peculiar conflicting situation – the tension between the language of the text book and the language of their daily lives (represented in Figure 2 as the two poles in Level I, namely family and education). This often results into the failure understanding the language of the text in a classroom environment. Therefore, what can at best be thought of, to come out from this type of situation, is not to follow those texts in ditto; rather, they must be molded in some local form to capture the salencies of local bio-cultural ecologies. Definitely the task is not that easy! As a proposal this may sound radical but implementing it is a challenge. Before we discuss what can at best be done in the next paragraph, let us articulate few clarifications from our side: We are talking about the opening of some space in our educational system in order to accommodate the local variations. In no sense, we are in favour of writing and producing text books in local varieties – because we feel this is of immense significance in the development of print-capital but hardly has any impact in the overall growth of the individual and the collectives. What we intend to say is that instead of restricting teaching and learning to the very notion of text book, one should and must be in a position to

appreciate the fact that textbook is one of many other instruments with the help of which knowledge is imparted. Texts are the ways to reach the intended goals; they themselves are not goals. By this, we intend to focus on Level II of Figure 2.

Situating a text in a local context is considered as more problematic in the fields of science and technology in comparison to humanities and social sciences. The topics of mathematics, for example, are always not easy to deliver in a dialect say for example the Birbhum variety. What should we do then? Should we keep the provision of dialects to teach humanities and social sciences only? Or, should we extend it even to the subjects of technology and sciences? – This is the juncture where medium of instruction becomes crucial. Medium of instruction or if we are permitted to call it as medium of delivering the textual content is that essential instrument in education which coarsens the content in a form which is easy to comprehend. It is unfortunate to see the decreasing significance of medium of instruction in local languages with an increasing trend in establishing monolingual and monolithic order in the Indian classrooms. Textbooks are instruments but not the foremost instrument. The status quo of knowledge is maintained and transferred not with the help of books but through the dialogic of classroom interactions. Through these interactions the interrelationships between the symbolic representation of the knowledge and the symbol-izers are settled. More specifically, it explains the Bernsteinian scheme of Figure 2. We advise to those who always lament for not having text books in local languages to go through Tagore's thought on education (1915): Tagore insists that it is the dialogic nature of the argumentative communication through which knowledge is created and transferred. Textbooks are of subsidiary in nature. We postpone the discussion on how a subsidiary instrument becomes the vital one due to the conspiracy of Nation-State and market economy for some other occasion.

Why we are putting this much stress on the classroom interaction and the medium of instruction? – Because, in a multilingual country like India, it is not that easy to identify actual number of dialectal variations. Deciding their status is also problematic – most of the time the concept of linguistic status is overburdened with illogical thoughts of vested political interests. This is the reason why Laitin (2000) argues that 'theories of nationalism, democracy, regional assertiveness, and civil war have relied on vague and unspecified notions of linguistic heterogeneity, based upon estimates of the "mother tongues" of a population'. India is also not an exception. Are we talking about producing texts in 1635 spoken varieties? Or, should we restrict textbook production in 234 mother tongues? Will it be a wise idea to concentrate only on 100 non-scheduled languages? Or, should we keep ourselves happy with 22 scheduled languages? – Whatever decision we take – keeping in view the issue of textbook production – is not going to be the wiser one. In a situation like this classroom interaction is the only option to build different hyper and hypo layers of textualities around the text with the use of talks.

6

Efforts in education are always measured in terms of the achievements. To achieve something 'good' and 'bigger', it is believed that there must be some checks to ensure the quality of the products. In a similar fashion, education within the framework of Nation-State in the context of market economy cannot move forward without having a system of assessment. Along the line of Chomsky (2012), as well as Tagore, though in some indirect way, we are in favor of an assessment system to the extent that it should give both the teachers, students and the policy makers some sense of "where we are, what we know, what we've achieved" and also a sense of "what should be changed and improved". Beyond these, assessment gives no important insights.

With this sort of understanding, then, the talk around the text seems to be of utmost significance. Text is not a mere collection of lessons and exercises. In fact, it comes directly in

between an individual and the Nation-State to mould the former one accordingly in order to uphold the dominant cultural principles.

Classroom interaction, which we call ‘talk’ in this writing, works in two different ways: *Firstly*, it makes the text malleable in favor of a specific kind of fusion to create some space where local can come in contact with the global. The dialectics of global and local can best be understood from Stuart Hall’s following argument, as is quoted by Canagarajah (2005): “global is the self-presentation of the dominant particular. It is a way in which the dominant particular localizes and naturalizes itself and associates with it a variety of other minorities”. Idealists may keep their eyes shut to avoid these sorts of nasty controversies; but believe us, no easy escape is there if one wants some real and meaningful intervention in education. In brief, then, talk is crucial in locating a text within the local cultural fabric inside a classroom. This, in turn, will take us to our *second* significance of the talk: As is told earlier, talk around the text opens avenues where both way trafficking is admissible. Text as the pretext of talk opens a space where content can move from teacher to learner, learner to learner and learner to teacher. In such a situation, the entire class as a whole, after a certain point of time, starts reflecting on the topics of learning; class remains no more a system of accumulating knowledge: It *enquires*, It *answers*, It *accepts*, It *rejects*. Like that world-famous Physicist, who was once asked how much will be covered in a session, we can also answer then: “It doesn’t matter what we cover, it matters what you discover” (Chomsky, 2012). – Because education is neither indoctrination nor the following of orders. Education is, if at all it is anything, an attitude – towards the enquiry, towards the ability to test and hypothesize, towards the act of rejection as well – for the sake of a social good promoting *coexistences*, *coordinations*, and *cooperations*.

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Revisiting Ergativity in *Hindi*

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ABSTRACT

Ergativity is a case marking pattern generally observed in languages whereby languages treat the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause in the same way. Such a patterning is different from the more general accusative case system wherein the subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are treated alike. Interestingly, more often than not, languages show split ergativity and as has been pointed out by Dixon (1979, 1994) none of the ergative languages are completely ergative. As for the notion of ergativity, it is treated in the literature as a continuum and some languages show more ergative patterns than the others. Observably, the extent to which ergativity within the continuum can be manifested is either through morphological markers or through syntactic arrangements or both. The paper attempts to investigate how ergativity is manifested in Hindi. The present work shows how Hindi manifests ergative structure primarily through morphological markers instead of syntactic arrangements. As widely known, Hindi exhibits ergativity in perfective structures. The paper attempts to view the possibility of ergative alignment in other Hindi structures as well.

সারাংশ

এর্গেটিভিটি এক বিশেষ ধরনের কারক সংক্রান্ত বিধি বন্দ্যোবস্থ – যেখানে অকর্মক ক্রিয়ার উদ্দেশ্য এবং সকর্মক ক্রিয়ার কর্মের ভাষাগত ব্যবহার একই রকমের। এই ধরনের ভাষিক ব্যবহার অ্যাকুসেটিভ কেস সিস্টেম থেকে গুণগত ভাবে আলাদা: অ্যাকুসেটিভ কেস সিস্টেমে অকর্মক ক্রিয়ার উদ্দেশ্য এবং সকর্মক ক্রিয়ার কর্তার ভাষাগত ব্যবহার একই রকম। ভাষার শ্রেণীকরণে এর্গেটিভিটি সম্ভাব্য। এর্গেটিভিটির নিরিখে ভাষারা একে অপরের চেয়ে হয় কম নয়তো বেশী এর্গেটিভ। হ্যাঁ বা না – এর দ্বিধতায় সেক্ষেত্রে ভাষাদের শ্রেণীকরণ বাঞ্ছনীয় নয়। একটি ভাষায় ঠিক কি মাত্রায় এর্গেটিভিটি রয়েছে তার পরিমাপে এর্গেটিভিটির রূপতাত্ত্বিক এবং বাক্যিক প্রকাশকেই গুরুত্ব দিয়ে দেখা উচিত। বর্তমান প্রবন্ধটিতে হিন্দির এর্গেটিভিটি নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে।

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1. Introduction

Ergative case system is observed in many languages whereby agent arguments are aligned differently than that observed in nominative-accusative case marking systems. The current work investigates the way ergativity is manifested in Hindi. The work attempts to explore whether ergative alignment is expressed morphologically or syntactically in Hindi. It is observed as discussed in section 5, Hindi expresses ergativity through the morphology of the language and not through syntax. As established in the literature, Hindi is a split ergative language that employs ergative case marking to agent arguments in transitive construction with perfective aspects. However, it has been observed that ergative marking is assigned to subjects of certain unaccusative intransitive verbs and not others. Also discussed in section 5, Hindi exhibits constructions which despite of being in perfective aspect, do not assign ergative case marking to the agent argument. Such scenario is observed in case of VV complex verbs. The present paper intends to revisit ergativity and investigate the same as manifested in Hindi.

3. Theoretical background

Ergativity is generally seen as a pattern exhibited by languages wherein the subject of the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause are treated the same way. In such patterning of Subject and Object, the transitive subject is identified differently than the intransitive subject and transitive object.

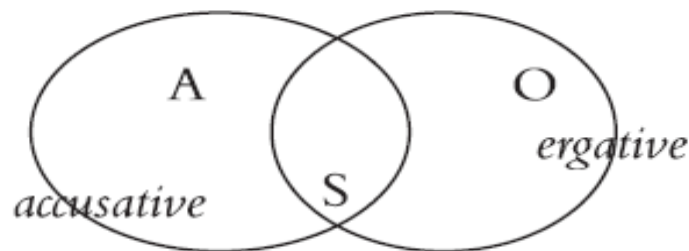


Figure1: Alignment of Subject, Agent and Object in Nominative vs Ergative Case systems

Ergativity has been extensively studied by Dixon (1994) in his book *Ergativity*. Later other scholars like Holmer (2001), Aldridge (2008), etc. have also tried looking at Ergativity from different points of view. Some of the ergative languages are Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language spoken in Queensland, Basque, spoken in Europe, Mayan, and other Amerindian and Austronesian languages.

Ergativity, as described by Dixon, was first introduced as the ergative case marking on NPs contrasting with the other NPs marked with Absolutive Case, the former being used for the subject of a transitive clause and the latter being used for the subject of an intransitive clause and also for the object of a transitive clause.

The notion of Ergativity, which was first introduced to identify a different case marking system, has now been extended to the field of syntax as well. Holmer (2001) in his work talks about ergativity from the point of view of parameter whereby ergative languages display only certain characteristics from the set of all characteristics of the parameter. The difficulty in analysing and theorising ergativity is the fact that languages under this category do not display uniformity in exhibiting their ergative characteristics which leads us to the different types of ergativity that languages exhibit and differ in. Ergativity can be displayed in two ways as pointed out by the theorists named above:

- Morphological Ergativity
- Syntactic Ergativity

3.1 Morphological Ergativity:

Ergativity is often marked on NPs by bound case morphemes, either overtly or covertly. The manifestation of such ergativity is morphological in nature. Languages which display ergativity only in morphological patterning are morphologically ergative. But that is not all to ergativity. Ergativity transcends beyond morphology into the system of syntax which is when it is called syntactic ergativity.

3.2 Syntactic Ergativity:

Languages most often show ergative alignment not only in the case marking system but also in the patterning of syntactical elements that give rise to syntactic construction different than those shown by nominative-accusative aligned languages. Such patterning gives rise to syntactic construction different than that those shown by nominative-accusative aligned languages. Syntactic Ergativity manifests itself in word order (for example, the absolutive argument comes before the verb and the ergative argument comes after it), Syntactic pivots, Control gap, Relative clauses—arguments for relativization, etc. Languages showing syntactic ergativity exhibit alternate realisations of either one or more of the mentioned syntactic aspects. The more aspects manifesting ergativity, the more ergative is the language in the ergative continuum.

4. Research Methodology

The present study involves the use of data which has already been documented. The data is interpreted in terms of the syntactic structure of the language in question, which is Hindi, in this case. The study is based on the already existing research and the issues mentioned in the research objectives are looked at.

5. Discussions

As known from extensive research on ergative patterns in Hindi, Hindi shows split ergativity and has been observed to manifest ergative markings in the perfective tense. Consider the following examples:

- (1) ram khana khata hai
 ram.NOM food.ACC eat.HAB.MAS.SG be.PRS.SG
 Ram eats food.

- (2) ram-ne sita-ko dekh.a tha
 ram.ERG sita.ACC see.PRF be.PST
 Ram had seen sita

- (3) ram-ne khana kha.ya
 ram.ERG food.ACC eat.AOR
 ram.ERG food.ACC eat.AOR

Example one displays nominative alignment of case marking where the Nominative Case is Ø-marked. However, the example sentences in (2-3), the agent is marked differently. The agent in (2) and (3) necessitates the morphological inflection *-ne*. This indicates that the agent of a transitive clause in perfective tense demands a different alignment of agent nominals than that in a non-perfective tense. The subject of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs in perfective tense are treated alike and agents of transitive verbs in perfective tense are attributed with a different treatment morphologically marked with the *-ne* ergative marker. The manifestation of alignment through case marking is indicative of the fact that ergativity is manifested morphologically in Hindi. However, the subject of query is whether ergativity is also manifested syntactically in Hindi.

As mentioned in the theoretical background, ergativity is syntactically manifested through various syntactic arrangements. Syntactic aspects like word order, arguments in relative clauses, etc often become subject to change when part of an ergative alignment. The matter of investigation here is whether such syntactic arrangements in Hindi face any kind of change in case of an ergative alignment.

Word order

In syntactically ergative languages ergativity is expressed through alternate word order. In languages showing ergative alignment through word-order, the object or the absolutive argument is placed before the verb. Consider the following sentence from Dyirbal (Dixon 1994).

- (4) ŋuma banagan^yu
 father returned
 Father returned.
 (5) yabu ŋuma-ŋgu buṛan
 father mother.ERG saw
 Mother saw father.

In Dyirbal Claiming this for Hindi would be moot for word order in Hindi is comparatively flexible as explicated through the following examples:

- (6) sita-ko dekha tha ram.ne
 sita.ACC see.PRF be.PST ram.ERG
 Ram had seen Sita.
 (7) ram-ne sita.ko dekha tha
 ram.ERG sita.ACC see.PRF be.PST
 Ram had seen Sita.

In Hindi, word order flexibility performs a pragmatic function and hence syntactic ergativity via word order is ruled out. Another noteworthy aspect of ergativity in Hindi is that even though ergativity is found in Hindi, the corresponding absolutive case marking is not very clear for which we return to in the following section.

Syntactic pivots

Pivot is the common argument NP around which two or more clauses can revolve. In nominatively aligned languages, the Subject/Agent acts as pivots, but in syntactically ergative languages, the Absolutive marked NPs which are S and O, act as pivots.

- (8) [nguma [yabu-nggu buran] [banaganyu]]
 father.ABS mother.ERG saw returned
 ‘Mother saw father and (father) returned.’ (Dixon 1994: 155)

The absolutive noun here ‘father’, is both the subject of the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause. This is the pivot around which both the transitive and intransitive clause are constructed. In Hindi on the other hand,

- (9) ma-ne papa-ko dekha aur lauti
 mother.ERG father.ACC see.AOR and return.AOR.FEMS.HON
 Mother saw father and (mother) returned
 (10) ma-ne papa-ko dekha aur lautẽ*
 mother.ERG father.ACC see.AOR and return.AOR.MAS_S.HON
 Mother saw father and (father) returned

It is very clear from the data that the pivot is the Ergative Case marked NP. More importantly, the ergative alignment is manifested only through the ergative case marking of the agentive nominal; however the object is not marked with Absolutive Case. The object in ergative constructions in Hindi is marked with an Accusative Case. And the Accusative Case marked NP does not have the ability to become a pivot in Hindi ergative structures. Thus the possibility of Hindi being a syntactically ergative language is ruled out. This designates Hindi Case system as morphologically ergative with an accusative syntax.

Control gap

Most syntactically manifested ergative languages allow the extraction of absolutive subject from the transitive clause with a gap, however, only a subset of languages allows extraction of the ergative agent. In such a scenario, it has been observed that in ergatively aligned languages, the shared constituent of an intransitive and a transitive clause in subordination is the absolutive marked object and not the ergative marked agent. In cases like so the extraction of the object is allowed with a gap.PRO. The following example can be noted.

- (11) nguma banaga.nyu [PRO yabu.nggu bura.li]
 father.ABS return.NONFUT (ABS) mother.ERG see.PURP
 Father returned in order for mother to see (him). (Dyirbal, Dixon 1994: 168)

The shared constituent is the subject of the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause and is expressed via PRO in the embedded clause. Constructions of this kind when constructed with PRO in Hindi involve the extraction of Nominative marked NPs only. Note the following:

- (12) papa laute taki [PRO maa.ko dekh sake]
 papa.NOM return.PST.HON so_that (NOM) maa.ACC see can
 Father returned so that he could see mother

The shared element of the intransitive and transitive clauses is the nominative subject or the

nominative agent of the intransitive and transitive clause respectively and in the embedded clause, the PRO expresses the nominative agent. A similar structure for ergative marked ergative marked agents is syntactically ruled out in Hindi, thereby annulling the possibility of Hindi being an syntactically ergative language

Relative Clauses: Relativization of the Absolutive Argument

In Dyirbal, it is noted that the object and the subject in embedded clauses is relativized as in examples (13) and (14). However, the ergative agent is not permitted.

- (13) palan jukumpil [____ ngaja purangu] nyinanyu
 there.ABS woman.ABS 1S.NOM see REL.ABS sit.NONFUT
 The woman whom I am watching is sitting down. (Levin 1983: 282)
- (14) ngumai [____ banaga.ngu] yabu.nggu bura.n
 father.ABS (ABS) return.REL.ABS mother.ERG see.NONFUT
 Mother saw father, who was returning. (Dixon 1994: 169)

In Hindi most NP can be relativized which is a feature of Nominative-Accusative languages. The ergative NPs can also be relativized but through co-relatives which rules out the possibility of Hindi being a syntactically ergative language. The language uses Nominative-Accusative patterns of relativization thereby showing no syntactic manifestation of ergativity.

5.2 The Ergative Split in Hindi

The extent of syntactic ergativity can be analysed viewing the syntactic categories which differs in morphologically ergative languages and syntactically ergative languages. The linguistic facts about Hindi indicate that it is not a syntactically ergative language. The split ergative-accusative nature also adds to this fact. Now, as discussed in Dixon (1994), ergative patterning is not uniform and can be considered as a continuum. The more ergative marking enters into syntax from morphology, the more ergative the language becomes. Languages aligned as explained above fall under the category of ergative languages. Ergativity is a language feature which has some sub-features, not all of which are exhibited by the ergative languages all the time. There are languages which show ergative pattern under certain parametric restrictions and some other languages that ergative alignment along with the nominative-accusative alignment. Such languages are called split-ergative languages. This gives rise to a situation where languages often exhibit ergative behaviour only in particular linguistic contexts and elsewhere, accusative patterning is observed. This phenomenon is termed as SPLIT ERGATIVITY. Many languages show split in ergative behaviours some of which are Hindi, Basque, etc.

Ergativity is exhibited by languages in various contexts, which gives rise to categories of splits depending upon these contexts. The major types are as follows:

- Person
- TMA
 - Tense
 - Modality
 - Aspect
- Split Intransitivity

Hindi exhibits TMA split which involves ergative marking especially in a particular aspectual situation. Therefore Hindi exhibit Aspect split in Perfective and Aorist conditions. The data below

explicate the point.

- (15) ram am kha raha hai
 ram.NOM mango.ACC eat be.PRG.MAS.SG be.PRS.SG
 Ram is eating mango(s)

This sentence shows progressive aspect and hence no ergative alignment is exhibited. However, the following example where the transitive verb is in the perfective aspect is unacceptable because a Nominative Case marked agent is ruled out. The transitive construction in the perfective tense does not permit a nominative alignment.

- (16) ram am khaya tha*
 Ram.NOM mango.ACC eat.PRF be.PST
 Ram had eaten mango(s)
 ram-ne am khaya tha
 ram.ERG mango.SG.ACC eat.PRF be.PST
 Ram had eaten a mango

Example (17) is a transitive construction in perfective aspect with ergative alignment. Thus, the ergative split in Hindi is manifested only in the perfective constructions. However, there are constructions in the perfective aspect which do allow unergative agents too, which is looked at in section 5.3.

Ergative alignment is also seen in aorist conditions in Hindi. Aorist condition is the condition of a finite verb with no tense specified. It is generally considered as past but can be combined with tense inflections to form present perfect tense. Such constructions exhibit ergative case marking. Consider the following sentences where the morphological ergative marker –ne is used when the verb is in aorist condition.

- (18) ram-ne am khaya
 ram.ERG mangoes.SG.ACC eat.AOR
 Ram ate a mango
 ram-ne am khaya hai
 ram.ERG mango.SG.ACC eat.PRF be.PRS
 Ram has eaten a mango

5.2 Unaccusatives

Another intriguing context where ergative marking is manifested is in the context of unaccusative verbs. Hindi exhibits permits ergative markings on subjects of unaccusative verbs as given below:

- (20) nina chhīki
 nina.FEM sneeze.AOR.FEM
 Nina sneezed
 nina-ne chhīka
 nina.FEM sneeze.AOR.MAS
 Nina sneezed

In (20), the unaccusative verb *chhīki*, meaning ‘sneeze’, encodes the non-volitional action of

sneezing. Unaccusatives are verbs which by the virtue of volitionality are considered to have only the object argument which due to the requirement of a linguistic subject is promoted to the subject position (Dixon, 2004). Now, the assignment of ergative case is by the heritage of the verb in the perfective aspect, however; the Nominative case is assigned to the object by the virtue of the nominative-accusative alignment permitted usually for intransitive verbs without an overt object.

However, not all unaccusatives verbs assign ergative case to the subjects. Take for instance the verb, *pōhūcha* which can be roughly translated into ‘arrived’. In this case, the verb assigns Nominative Case to the subject NP instead of an ergative case. The reason behind such inconsistent case assignment is due to the conceptualisation of the verb as a volitional activity. Further, a cognitive study of such cases would a concrete justification as to why such verbs show inconsistent case marking patterns. It would give an idea as to how the conceptual structures of languages impact the syntactic structure of language.

Taking into consideration the overtly inconsistent case assignment, other volitional verbs without an object argument has been observed to assign ergative case to the subject NP. Take for instance, cases like *bolna*, *chīkhna*, which are intransitive verbs allowing ergative case assignment. In case of *chīkhna* and *chillana*, *bolna*, *nahana*, etc, the verbs are neither unaccusative, since the agent has complete control and volition of the activity and neither do their theta positions require objects implicitly when used as intransitives, yet they allow ergative construction. The consideration in such cases is that verbs of this kind are conceptualized to have schematization of actions involving certain obligatory yet inexplicit conceptual arguments which are not manifested in the theta role of the verb encoding the action. Nor is the schematization manifested in having an overt linguistic object. However, due to the schematic representation of such actions in the cognitive domain is manifested through ergative case marking in Hindi. A study on how conceptualization impacts the case structure of languages seems prospective and allows the broadening of scope of further research on ergativity in Hindi.

5.3 Unergatives

It has been observed and established that Hindi employs ergative case marking in perfective constructions. However, interestingly, perfective constructions with certain VV complexes do not employ ergative case marking. Consider the following case:

- (22) nina am kha gayi
 nina.NOM mangoe.ACC eat.NF go.PRF.FEM
 Nina ate up the mangoes.

In such constructions the V1 or the main verb is nonfinite and the explicator verb or V2 encodes the perfective aspect as the notion of completion. In perfective constructions, the agent argument is ideally assigned with an ergative case; however in cases like (22) the same does not happen. This is probably due to the fact that the explicator verb, although undergoes semantic bleaching, retains its intransitive feature which does not allow an ergative case assignment to the agent argument. This is why VV complexes involving a transitive explicator verb employ ergative case to agent arguments as shown in the example below:

- (23) nina-ne takiya utha phenka
 nina.ERG pillow pick.NF throw.PRF.MAS_O
 Nina picked and threw the pillow.

phēka is a transitive verb, which when used as an explicator verb in VV complexes in perfective aspect assigns an ergative case to the agent argument unlike the intransitive explicator verbs like *gayi*. This substantiates the claim that despite semantic bleaching, the valency of the explicator verb interacts with the case system in Hindi and assigns ergative/nominative case to the agent argument accordingly. Hence, the verbal complexes assign ergative case to the agent argument based on the valency of the explicator verb and not the non-finite main verb.

5.4 Parallel Absolutive Case in Hindi

In Hindi, interestingly, it is believed that the absolutive case is not assigned to object arguments, instead of which objects are assigned with accusative clause. However, it might be prudent to revisit this claim. Consider the following example:

- (24) ram-ne kitab padhi
 ram.ERG book read.AOR.FEM
 Ram read the book.

In this sentence, object is not overtly marked with an absolutive case. However, neither an accusative case *-ko* is assigned to the object of the sentence. The indication that the object could be marked with a covert absolutive case is the gender agreement that the verb manifests. Note that in all other non-perfective aspect constructions the verb agrees with the grammatical gender of the subject. However, in perfective and aorist constructions, the verb is observed to manifest agreement with the grammatical gender of the object. The following examples substantiate this argument.

- (25) ram kitab padh raha hai
 ram.NOM book.ACC read.PRF be.PRG be.PRS.SG
 Ram is reading the book.
- (26) ram-ne kitab padhi thi
 Ram.ERG book.ACC read.PRF.FEM_O be.PST.FEM_O
 Ram is reading the book.

In (25), the verb agrees with the grammatical gender of the subject whereas in (26) the verb agrees with the grammatical gender of the object. The object-verb agreement on grammatical gender is employed in the language when the object is \emptyset -marked for the case feature. Now, the assignment of an accusative case to the object does not involve a verbal agreement with the grammatical gender of the object. Rather, in case of an accusative case marking, the verb is always in agreement with the grammatical gender of the subject. Thus, the marked feature of object-verb agreement on the gender feature indicates that the object is not marked with a covert Accusative Case, rather, the object is marked with a covert Absolutive Case.

It is noteworthy that the absolutive case is observationally less employed in Hindi and often the objects are marked with accusative case. Note the following examples:

- (27) ram-ne sita-ko dekha tha
 ram.ERG sita.ACC see.PRF be.PST
 Ram had seen sita

In sentence (27), the object 'Sita' is marked with an overt accusative case. However, it is observed that the accusative case is assigned mostly to human nouns as well as definite animate nouns as

exhibited by examples (28) and (29). A similar accusative case assignment for inanimate non-living objects is ruled out as observed in (30)

- (28) ram-ne us sher-ko dekha tha
ram.ERG that tiger.ACC see.PRF be.PST
Ram had seen that tiger.
- (29) Ram-ne us chuhe-ko bhagaya tha
ram.ERG that mouse.ACC shoo.PRF be.PST
Ram had shooed the mouse away.
- (30) ram-ne us chulhe-ko toda tha*
ram.ERG that over.ACC break.PRF be.PST
Ram had broken the oven.

The sentence in (30) remains ill-favoured in Hindi. Only objects which are inanimate yet living are attributed such accusative case marking in aorist tense. Take for instance the following example which involves *ped* as an object.

- (31) ram-ne us ped-ko kaat diya
ram.ERG that tree.ACC cut.PRF give.PST.MAS_O
Ram had seen that tiger.

The object in question in (31) is living and inanimate and is assigned with an accusative case. In such cases, the semantic feature of living object and animacy interacts with the case marking system. The argument for this claim is the fact that none of the objects with the semantic feature of [+human] is occurs without an overt absolutive case marking in ergative constructions. Take a note of the following examples:

- (32) ram-ne sita-ko dekha tha
ram.ERG sita.ACC see.PRF be.PST.MAS_O
Ram had seen sita
- (33) ram-ne sita dekhi thi*
ram.ERG sita.ABS see.PRF be.PST.MAS_O
Ram had seen sita

The sentence in (32) marks the object with an overt accusative case and is acceptable in Hindi. However, the sentence in (33) which employs the previously discussed object-verb agreement on gender feature and covert Absolutive Case to the object is rendered ungrammatical. This indicates that the semantic feature of object arguments interact with the employment of case marking in Hindi.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper investigates the case marking system as employed in Hindi. It explores the extent to which Hindi exhibits ergativity. Hindi, as a split ergative language, exhibits ergative case marking only morphologically and not syntactically. The split is observed to manifest in the aspectual system of the language whereby ergativity is employed only in the aorist and the perfective constructions. It is observed from the current study that ergativity is also employed in case of certain unaccusative verbs and not others. The fundamental claim of this paper is that conceptual difference observed in different unaccusative verbs lead to such inconsistent ergative markings. It has also been observed in this study that intransitive verbs which are not inherently unaccusative allow assign

ergative marking which is also considerably due to the schematic structure underlying the conceptualization of the verbs. The parallel Absolutive Case marking is also investigated in this study. It has been duly noted that absolutive case is assigned to object arguments in the perfective and aorist constructions in co-ordination with object-verb agreement on gender feature, only in the context of objects arguments being no-human. It has also been observed that in case of ergative structure, the semantic feature of objects interacts with the case assignment and an overt accusative case is assigned to object arguments which are semantically [+human] and/or [+animate] and/or [+living]. The study attempts to comprehensively revisit the case system as employed in Hindi and provides perspective for further research in the interactive domains of syntax and cognitive semantics.

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Languages in Contact: A Comparative Study of Anaphors in *Bangla* and *Toto*

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I have discussed the anaphora constructions of Bangla an Indo Aryan Language and Toto, a Tibeto Burman language and tried to show how the language contact takes place. Consequently, constructions are borrowed from one language to another and borrowing leads to contact induced strategies.

সারাংশ

এই প্রবন্ধটির আলোচ্য বিষয় বাংলা এবং টোটো ভাষায় ব্যবহৃত এ্যানাফোরা কনস্ট্রাকশন। বাংলা ইন্দো-ইউরোপীয় গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত এবং টোটো তিব্বতী-বর্মীয়। এই দুটি ভাষা একে অপরের সান্নিধ্যে থাকায় এ্যানাফোরা কনস্ট্রাকশনের ব্যবহারে কিছু বৈশিষ্ট্য লক্ষ্য করা যায়। এই প্রবন্ধটিতে এই বিষয়টিতেই আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে।

1. Introduction

The similarities or the differences between the literatures or literary structures of two different communities show parallelism in terms of the language structures of the said communities. The motif of this paper is to show one such parallelism between Bangla a widely spoken Eastern Indo-Aryan Language and Toto, an endangered language of the Tibeto Burman family spoken in the same region (Totopara village of the Madarihat Block of Alipurduar district) of West Bengal.

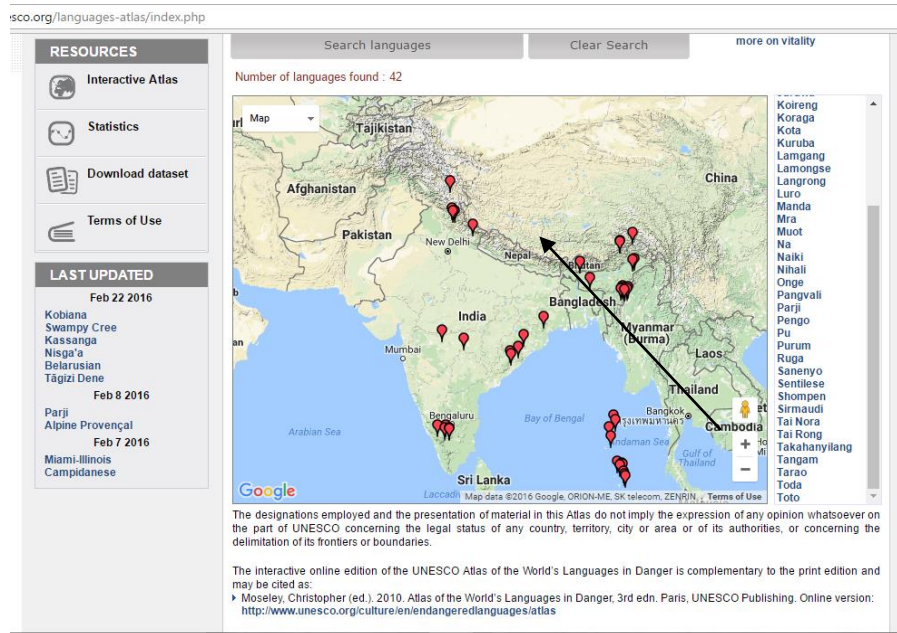
2. Methodology

At the onset, my objective is to show the constructions containing anaphors from the said language and then I am going to take up the language and literature contacts from a historical perspective. The data was collected from the field by using the Berlin Utrecht survey (Dimitriadis, 2004).

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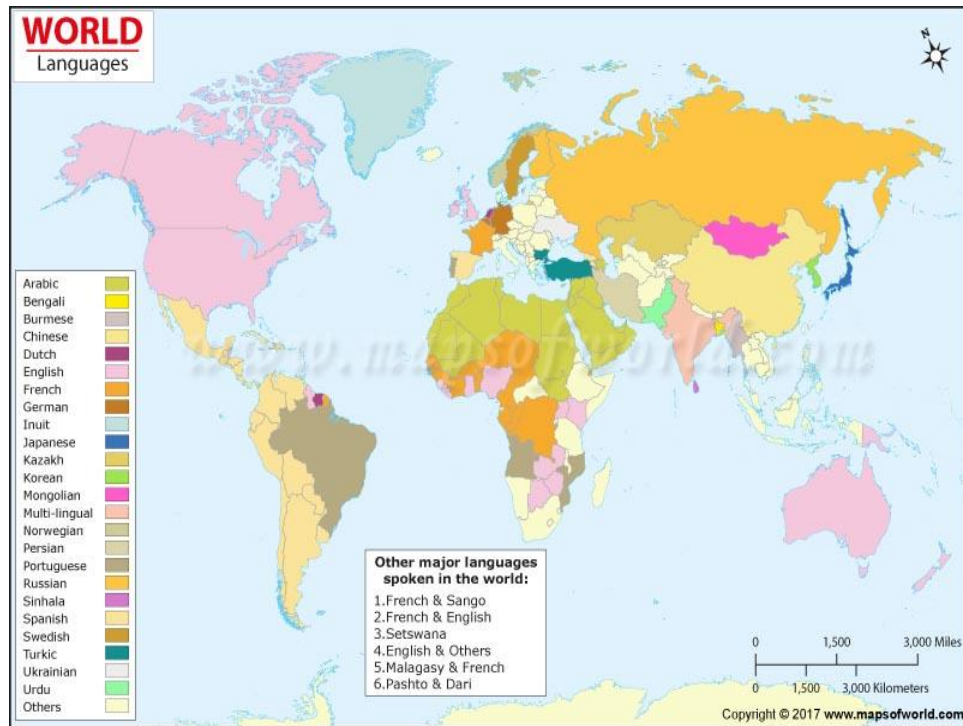
2.1 Demography of the Languages

According to UNESCO Language Atlas, Toto is one of the endangered languages of India spoken in Dhunchipara, Panchayatpara, and Subhapara areas of the Totopara village on the Indo-Bhutan border. As per the current estimate by SIL there are only 1400 people who speak Toto. The other dominant languages of the regions are Bangla and Nepali. Almost all the Toto speakers can speak Bangla and or Nepali along with Toto.



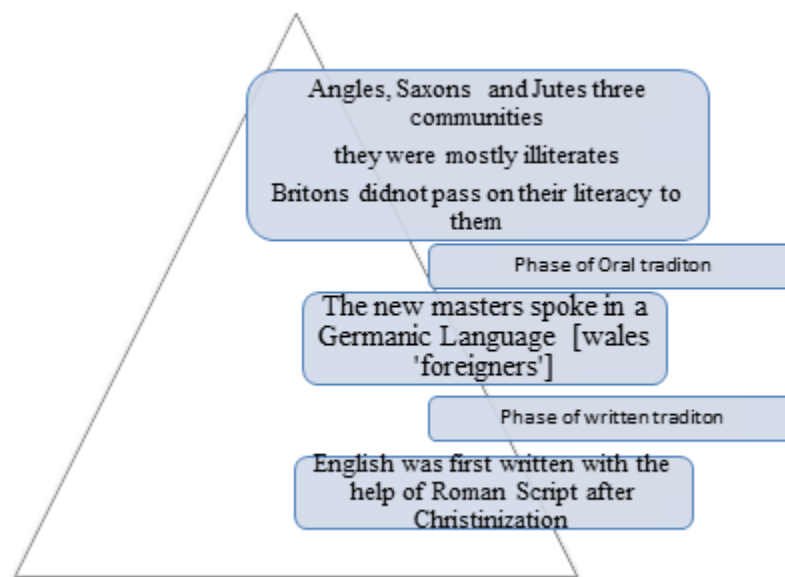
Therefore this is a language external factor of Toto being endangered and Toto literature being highly influenced by Bangla and Nepali.

Bangla also known as Bengali is an eastern indo Aryan language spoken in Goalpara and Dhubri districts of Assam, Dhanbad, Manbhum, Santal Parganas, and Singhbhum Jharkhand in the states of Bihar, Odisha, Tripura and West Bengal apart from Bangladesh. According to 2001 Census the population of Bangla L1 speakers is 82,500,000.



3. Historical perspective on contact: Case study from literature

Let us consider first the contact in terms of the literature. It is argued that English literature and language has evolved through language contact. Alexander (2000) notes that English poems existed even before the English script and writing came into existence. The first conceivable English poem was presumably the boat songs sung by the sailors to conquer Britannia noted by Andrew Marvell. Consider the sketch shown below for the evolution of English.



There are large scales of lexical borrowing in English from different languages. As an instance, in the table below a few borrowings from Scandinavian and French into English is cited.

Old English	Modern English
Ofre	Bank (Scandinavian)
Ea	River (French)
tid	hour (French)

In case of Bangla another major language spoken in the sub continent Lexical borrowing is also quite common.

Arabic	Persian	Turkish	Austroasiatic	Sanskrit
আক্কেল <i>akkel</i> wisdom	আয়না <i>ayna</i> mirror	বাবুচি <i>baburçi</i> cook, chef	খোঁজ <i>khôj</i> notice	অবতার <i>ôbôtar</i> Avatar
আসল <i>ashôl</i> real	চাকুরি <i>chakuri</i> job	কোরমা <i>korma</i> korma	ঝিনুক <i>jhinuk</i> shell	মায়্যা <i>maya</i> Maya

Japanese	Dutch	Portuguese	French	English
চা <i>ch</i> <i>a</i> tea	রুইতন <i>r</i> <i>uitôn</i> diamonds	আলমারি <i>a</i> <i>Imari</i> closet, cupboard	আঁশ <i>âsh</i> plant fiber	অফিস <i>of</i> <i>ish</i> office
রিক্সা <i>rik</i> <i>sha</i> Ricks haw	তুরূপ <i>turup</i> trump	ইস্পাত <i>ispat</i> steel	রেস্তোরাঁ <i>re</i> <i>storâ</i> Restaurant	ডাক্তার <i>dak</i> <i>tar</i> doctor

Figure 1 A screen shot of Bengali vocabulary from en.wikipedia.org

From the figure quoted above it can be observed that Bangla has taken words from Arabic to English and the current literature shows use of these borrowed words extensively.

3.1 Language contact in specific aspects: Looking into The anaphors

Matras (2010) notes language contact as the practice of communicative communication. When the speakers of a particular region are essentially bilingual and multilingual it is observed that in certain contexts people tend to do code mixing more than others. This leads to a language convergence (pattern replication) or borrowing.

4. Anaphors

There are mainly two sets of reflexive pronouns: Reflexives and Reciprocals. They are interpreted in terms of principle A of the Binding Theory as proposed by (Chomsky, 1981).

Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its binding domain.

Consider the following example from English.

Reflexives

1. Bill hits himself.

Reciprocals

2. They are hitting each other.

Bill and they are the antecedents.

In these examples *himself* and *each other* are anaphors which are bounded within the clause.

In case of Bangla and Toto, consider the examples below:

3. Bil nije-ke marche
Bill self-ACC hit-CONT-PRS
'Bill is hitting himself.'
4. janti-ha taṭi-raṅ yacpa-diṅ-na (Toto, Own data, 2016)
santi self -NS hit- CONT-PRS
'Santi is hitting herself.'

The difference is in English the antecedent Bill cannot be dropped whereas in Both Toto and Bangla the antecedents can be dropped. Thus we observe that Toto and Bangla look similar in this aspect.

In case of the reciprocal constructions consider examples below:

They are sitting one after another.

5. t̪ara eke ɔporer/pɔrospɔrer paʃe boʃe ache. (Bangla)
They one another side sit AUX-PRS
'they are sitting one after another.'
6. ɛbiha ebe ebe-t̪a ga-diṅ-na (Toto)
they one one-LOC sit-CONT-PRS
'They are sitting one after another.'
7. i d̪ɛabi t̪aibilərai-hiṅ t̪æ-diṅ-na (Toto)
these people each other-ACC touch-CONT-PRS
'They are touching each other.'

We notice that in Bangla the form *pɔrospɔrer* is least preferred by the Bangla speakers these days. For reciprocal constructions, *eke ɔnnoke*, *eke ɔporke* are frequently used. Similarly in case of Toto we have found that the most of the Toto speakers prefer *ebe ebe* instead of *t̪aibilərai* which is less used for such constructions. In fact this is also noted in their respective literatures.

5. Conclusion

I propose the following Developments due to language contact between Toto and Bangla. Due to convergence the reciprocal construction undergo a whole sale readjustment in their morphosyntactic pattern which might further lead to typological shift.

Stage 1. Bangla and Toto initially had a monomorphemic word for reciprocals

Stage 2. Bangla speakers primarily use a compositional strategy.

Contact between Bangla and Toto

Stage 3. Toto also adopts same strategy like Bangla

Stage 4. *p̥ɔɾospɔɾ* and *t̪aibilarai* might be lost in future

Stage 5. *eke ɔnnoke* and *ebe ebe* will become the sole strategy

The support comes from the following diagnostic test known as Kinds of linguistic transfer proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2010). They argue that linguistic transfer can happen due to form meaning units or a combination of form meaning units. They proposed a Task oriented approach and showed that this kind of grammatical patterning can also arise because of task oriented approach.

Scale of occurrence	
Tasks	pattern
• routine communication within family	both
• communication in trade and business	both
• Translation (Intergroup communication)	Compositional strategy

What I have shown above is that both Bangla and Toto have a lexical marker for the reciprocals as well as a compositional strategy such as *eke ɔnnoke* and *ebe ebe*. What results due to various tasks as shown in the scale of occurrence above is that due to intergroup communication, the compositional strategy becomes predominant and with growing contacts, it becomes the default strategy.

Colophon

I am indebted to Shanti Toto, Shova Toto, Bhabesh Toto, Bhugol Toto and Sanchita Toto for their constant support and help me analyzing the Toto examples during a field trip in 2016. The trip was partially sponsored by School of Languages and Linguistics, Jadavpur University.

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Language: The Crucial Instrument of Social Control

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ABSTRACT

Language as a 'sign' system is not simply an arbitrary relation between signifier and signified, but an ideologically motivated system of signs, which controls and shapes all the social realities. The paper shows that the linguistic discursive practices are ideological in that they produce and reproduce unequal power relations in the way they represent and classify the world around us. Finally, this paper concludes that there exist ideologically driven forces in our society that promote specific types of language use for social control.

সারাংশ

চিহ্ন ব্যবস্থা হিসেবে ভাষা কেবলমাত্র চিহ্নিত এবং চিহ্নিতের মধ্যকার একটা কার্যকারণহীন সম্পর্ক নয়। বরং, একে দেখা উচিত মতাদর্শগত ভাবে অনুপ্রানিত চিহ্ন ব্যবস্থা হিসেবে – যে ব্যবস্থা সামাজিক বাস্তবতার রূপায়নে এবং নিয়ন্ত্রণে মুখ্য ভূমিকা পালন করে। এই রকম একটা অবস্থায় দাঁড়িয়ে, এই আলোচনার বিষয় হলো এইরূপ: কেবল মাত্র ভাষাই যে মতাদর্শগত ভাবে অনুপ্রানিত এক চিহ্ন ব্যবস্থা তা নয়। ভাষা সংক্রান্ত যে তাত্ত্বিক প্রশ্নগুলি রয়েছে তারাও কোনো না কোনো একভাবে মতাদর্শগত রূপায়ন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণের নিদর্শ। মতাদর্শগত রূপায়ন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণের এই ব্যাখ্যায় তাই ঠাঁই পেয়েছে রাজনৈতিক (অন্-)ইচ্ছার প্রসঙ্গটুকুও।

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*Neither power nor knowledge nor any other reality
is anything but a mere linguistic construct.
~Foucault*

1. Introduction

Language is a great force of socialisation, integrated component of culture, symbol of social and cultural identity, a mode of communication and representation. Languages have a deep connection to the thought and culture of the people who speak them and every language divides the world differently. The present work is an attempt to argue and question these traditional notions of communication and representation of language. It argues that the linguistic system of signs is not simply an unbiased reflection of the world but a product of ideologies of culture. The concept of “variation” is not as Saussure believed a product of individual choice but a product of social differentiation. Saussure argued that everyone has equal access to language, and the homogeneities of language are achieved not innate. Language as a sign system is not simply an arbitrary relation between signifier and signified, but an ideologically motivated system of signs, which controls and shapes all the social realities. In fact, language can be used to control the way people think. At the individual level, it is very common for a person who wishes to assert his/her authority and superiority to use longer words to impress, to intimidate or perhaps to mystify and confuse the audience. Malinowski has rightly described language as a “mode of action” rather than a “counter-sign to thought”. This paper raises some issues regarding how language as a powerful tool is used to shape and re-shape realities, beliefs, and worldviews and how it acts as a complete tool of social control, conditioned by “other” non-linguistic parts of society. To substantiate the claims argued, different discourses (both linguistic and non-linguistic) have been taken into consideration and an attempt has been made to show how language controls all arenas of life overtly or covertly. It is a challenging intellectual task to question such ideologies of culture and people, because the people who question the dominant ideology often appear not to make sense; what they say would not sound logical to anyone who holds that ideology. In extreme cases, people who ask such questions may even appear mad. The most general premise of this paper is that there exist some ideologically driven forces in our society that promote specific types of language use for social control.

2. The Dominance Factor

According to Ruiz (1984, 1990), language(s) can be seen in three ways:

- (a) language as a problem,
- (b) language as a right,
- (c) language as a resource.

The present study aims to expose the core issues that underpin views of language as a problem and how they, in turn, result in the formation of policies that represent social communication patterns. The important question, which one can raise, is about the logical and structural dominance of one language over the other, standard over the non-standard, one variety over the other or a language over its dialects. Interestingly, what we call appropriate and correct is not a property of linguistic structures but their relationship with contexts. It is not the structure of the word, which carries the meanings, but settings and contexts in which it is used are also important. There is a systematic co-variance between linguistic structures and social structures, a kind of mapping speech against various social facts. We

usually exploit the affective aspect of language, when we have many utterances in mind to convey the same message but 'selecting one as appropriate' and not another is showing ourselves to be sensitive to power and social relationships between us and the individuals or groups we are addressing.

However, the question arises that why a particular linguistic form attracts affirmative adjectives like good, correct, pure, proper, educated, articulate and intelligent. Is the notion of standard 'logically' and structurally superior or a mere covert construction? Is there any relation between notion of standard and ordered world? Why is standard associated with authority, discipline, social and moral order, its speakers perceived as educated, having respect for societies' standards and norms? It would not be illegitimate to argue that, because they support power therefore "inclusion" is that they are part of socially powerful group. Why the standard invalidates the "other" (regional/vernacular/indigenous) dialects. Bloomfield (1927) described 'illiterate speech as no more haphazard than any other variety, its users had learned no less but had learned something different. Labov rejected ungrammaticality of everyday speech as myth. Similarly, the cognitive superiority of Standard English was unproven. Linguistically, dialect forms were no more haphazard or unstable and no easier to learn. For example, to learn "I seen" and "I saw" are equally affordable and difficult to learn. Prestigious is not always aesthetic and authentic. Why was the double negation (I didn't say nothing) acceptable in 17th century (to mean I didn't say anything) and unacceptable in present English. Purists attempted to justify it by applying mathematical rules and argued that two negatives make a positive therefore the double negation I didn't say nothing is not acceptable in English language. Nevertheless, the question is can mathematical rules be applied to language. For instance, the question one may ask is: can truth and false value of language be checked by applying mathematical rules? Obviously, not, language and the meaning it conveys is context bound, and its truth-values unlike mathematical rules can be directly judged from the real world experiences. There are no "primitive" languages. All languages have a system of sounds, words, and sentences that can adequately communicate the content of culture. The languages of the so-called "primitive" peoples are often very complex in their grammatical structures. There seems to be no correlation between a language's grammatical complexity and the technological level of a society or other aspects of culture. Nevertheless, cultures that have more complex, diverse economies and advanced technologies have larger vocabularies.

Santa Ana's (2002) analysis of metaphorical rhetoric used in the Los Angeles Times during the 1990s is an excellent example of how the media are used to influence the formation of public policy. A striking metaphor offered by Santa Ana is 'Language as a Prison: "They consider English fluency the key to unlock the handcuffs of poverty, a key they themselves will probably never possess" (Santa Ana, 2002; Johnson, 2003, 2005). The above metaphor entails that languages other than English are bad: they keep speakers in poverty, and they inhibit progress and those who speak them are limited and unfortunate. On the opposite side of the spectrum, it implies that English is good: it is a tool to escape, and it is freedom and those who speak English are liberated from oppression. It is about the use of power and influences to control broader social patterns of language use.

3. Hegemonic and Ideological Manipulation

The topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the micro culture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macro social constraints on language behavior (P. Kroskrity, Personal Communication). A number of public problems center on language ideology for example the questions of free speech and harassment; the meaning of multiculturalism in schools and texts etc.

Research on topics such as pronouns, politeness, and purism has begun the difficult program of considering whose interests are served by linguistic ideology taking the form that it does, relating notions of linguistic ideology as rooted in linguistic structure and cognitive limitations to

understandings of ideology as rooted in social practices and interests. It is the attempt to link these two aspects of ideology, and to tie social and linguistic forms together through ideology, that is both most provocative and most challenging. It may not be an exaggeration to consider language as a system by which powerful participants control non-powerful participants. The question of “who” is allowed to say “what” to “whom” is related with power and social status, to demonstrate power through language. Would it had not been so or would language had been so simply a way of communication, Emmett Till an African-American teenager from Chicago in 1995 would not had been was murdered by two white men because he didn’t address them as “sir”. Until had unknowingly broken the social code that required African-Americans to defer to Anglo-Americans.

Language use or miss-use can lead to war and peace. Language controls all forms of life and Power whether it is derived from age, strength, wealth, or rank; it implies the possibility of control. For instance, in almost all cultures children are not allowed to ask the name of elders (as a mark of respect or not to insult) while elders can do the same. We are not always aware that our worldviews are being manipulated or directed by language, which makes it conceptually impossible to question certain values. Once accepted it becomes “commonsense” or truth and therefore unchallenged. As George Orwell rightly pointed out: “in our age there is no keeping out of politics. All issues are political issues”. Politics is concerned with power, the power to make decision, to control resources, to control other people’s behaviour and often to control their values. Language as a social fact reflects and regulates the social relationship. Language shapes reality thought it itself is shaped by environment. Worry is that this hidden ideologically motivated power is seen as neutral, normal, and invisible therefore remains unchallenged and unquestioned.

Another crucial debate about language ideology is regarding the language planning and policies and school circular using standard language (as there is no standard language- it is simply preferred status for social reasons alone and is hence closer to speech of some children than to that of others). “As ideological constructs,” asserts McCarty (2004), “language policies both reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society”. By describing policy and ideology as social constructs, McCarty contends that they reflect the interests of the dominant group(s) and serve to maintain unequal relationships of power and access within the larger society. Language is defined here as a means of social control, a viewpoint by which language restrictions can be seen as a method of discriminating against speakers of minority languages. A government designates an official language to restrict access to economic and political power. As Densie Daoust has rightly argued that language planning is also transmission of cultural and social values. It is a deliberate and conscious effort, which involves hidden ideologies of economic and political aspects. It kills linguistic diversity and linguistic pluralism. It avoids choice. It is an accepted fact that socially powerful elite speak international language[s]. A dominant language group controls the crucial authority in the areas of administration politics and economy and gives preference in employment to those who have command of dominant language. This disadvantaged language group is been left with only two choices of assimilating or resisting. Usually weak language groups tend towards assimilation while stronger groups preferred political resistance. In all multilingual communities there is always an unequal treatment of languages hence not all language are being treated equally.

4. Linguistic Objectification

The concept of linguistic objectification is that how language objectifies the world, and how it discriminatory categorizes individuals into groups and vice versa. Central vs. marginal- trying to show that some members are central and others are marginal. They have at least the potential to order the world to suit their own ends, the potential to construct a language, a reality, a body of knowledge in which they are central figures, the potential to legitimate their own primacy, and to create a system of

beliefs which is beyond challenge. Linguistic practices are used primarily to demonstrate how they fall of central membership. We can explore the ways to know how language is used in social construction of reality and modes of life. For example, take the language used for age, different words are being for same age group person with all different nuances of meanings. Ageist language has ageist activities attached with it. It seems aging as a socially constructed process rather than biological ageing. In American expressions, senior citizens have positive connotations of active, strong, progressive, and happy the aged, elderly, and old person has negative connotations attached with it. Although much has been deliberated about the role of language in shaping the gendered realities, nonetheless, the contentious debate on gendered language cannot be ignored. Lakoff (1975) clearly identifies women's language as responsible for causing women's inferior social position and objectifies them differently as "other". Language can be used to create asymmetrical relations between groups and individual. Language expresses the way the individuals situate themselves in relationship to others, the way they group themselves, the powers they claim for themselves. Linguistic choice of a speaker, convey social information, speaker's position, background, place of origin, social class, social intent, whether s/he wants to appear friendly or distant, familiar or differential superior or inferior. Because of the relationship between language use and group membership, language can inspire deep group loyalties. It can serve as a symbol of unification on several levels. On the national level, language loyalty can serve an important political function. Many people in the United States are threatened by the use of languages other than English. To speak a language other than English is thought to be "un-American". Stereotypical notions and code markers can lead to have negative characteristic of a whole group, races, or regions of people.

5. Media Discourses: Shaping and Constructing the Realities

The powerful role and the effect of media language discourse in shaping, reshaping, and constructing of our worldviews and beliefs cannot be ignored. Media discourse is designed for mass audiences and sometimes producers do not know who are the audiences, which is not the case in case of face-to-face conversation. Since all discourses are produced with some interpreters in mind but media discourse for an ideal subject. Actual listeners have to build a relationship with the ideal subject to interpret it. There is one-sidedness of media language discourses. In face-to-face communication participants can be both producers and interpreters of the text but in media discourses they are only consumers. In face-to-face communication, there is possibility of convergence or divergence, agreement or disagreement. We shape our speech style according to audience and even change it according to the feedback- but in media discourses, it is not possible.

Much has been said about the language of advertising, but actually, it also reshapes our thinking and beliefs. For example, the advertisement used for a cream "fair and lovely" in which a young girl is being showing confused because no one looks at her because she is not fair, but after applying the particular cream she becomes fair and all people get attracted towards her. It unconsciously gives legitimacy to that fact that only being fair is very important and acceptable and not being fair is unacceptable. Similarly, the advertisement of a car on an Indian television channel screening, propagating, and showing a well-dressed man and his family saying "life so complete now" after getting the particular car. Such type of advertisements intentionally or unintentionally, implicitly or explicitly demonstrate and attempt to legitimize that fact that without such type of cars life is incomplete and those people who don't own such type of cars do not hold a complete life. It is interesting note that how media plays with the vocabularies, and it is always interesting to see how audience is to make belief. Who has said what is sometimes not clear. For example in discussions and news items the use of utterances like "it is thought" and "it is said" are used to make it true that the third and fourth hand information is absolute fact. For example, the various newspapers discussed the

news items vis-à-vis the serious political debate concerning the Indo-US nuclear deal in the following manner.

Experts are saying:

New Delhi shouldn't sign the deal.

India shouldn't sign the deal.

Our country shouldn't sign the deal.

We shouldn't sign the deal.

It is not just a news item with different lexical items meaning the same thing, but there is a deliberate and conscious use and preference of different words for the same news item by the people of different ideologies, who unswervingly or explicitly want to convey that what they said, is the only correct thing. They try to prove that they speak on behalf of whole nation by using lexical items 'our country' and 'we'. In other words, they employ linguistic items in such a fashion that lead to believe, as if they only know and represent of voice of the nation, hence what they speak is common-sense and therefore unchallenged, unquestioned and the only right way of doing things. It answers the question that how the notion of common sense contributes to the domination of some people by others. How relations of power can ideologically shape common sense assumptions. In the same Indo-US nuclear deal hot debate, the terminology used is ideologically motivated and loaded in such a way that it appears neutral, and beneficial, normal and less scary. These labels are deliberately used in order to eliminate the danger or deaths, which can be caused by nuclear threat and makes it difficult to talk about the nuclear industry in anything other than positive terms. The question is how can learning of such a language have powerful effect? It stops us to use the language to express our concerns make it conceptually impossible. This language dose not allows certain questions to be asked certain values to be expressed. We are not always aware that our worldviews are being manipulated. The fact is that language can be used to control the way people think. In political speeches the rhetorical use of pronouns we, our, I is mostly used for the safer positions and to avoid controversies. The first person mysterious pronoun we is used to avoid controversial statements as the US president used "we have win the war against the terror" when Afghanistan was attacked after 9/11. Similarly, the first person I is used for safer grounds and responsibility and claiming help as was used by the president Bush "I have send food packets and clothes to the children who have suffered in the collateral damage in Afghanistan"(CNN, June 22, 2002).

6. Conclusion

This sort of study of critical language discourses helps us in understanding the role of language in making and unmaking of beliefs and worldviews. As a matter of fact, arbitrariness of meaning system is hidden and meaning also varies ideologically. There is a difference between meaning of words in dictionary and meaning of words in discourse. For the interpretation of meaning, we should know Meaning of constituent parts, connection between sequential parts of text and connection between text and the world. We should understand the significance of language in production maintenance and change of social relations of power. Increase consciousness of how language contributes to the dominance of some people by others. Had language been simply a way of communication there would not have been scheduled and non-scheduled languages, standard and non-standard languages, national and regional languages, language dialect differences etc. Political, religious, social, and cultural characteristics would not have been associated with language. Therefore, it substantiates and legitimates the argument that language is a form of social practice, which makes and shapes and

controls all social realities rather than simply a mode of communication and representation and an abstract relation between sign and signifier.

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বাংলাভাষা-পরিচয়, পার্ট ২

রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

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SIGNIFICANCE

Significance of this piece of article from Tagore's Banglabhasha Parichoy can be noticed in those indications where language is characterized as a structure, as a result of evolution, and a product of social coordination. It also points out the significance of the way understanding of language(s) as a particular knowledge system evolves in spite of attitudinal differences of its practitioners across the ages and spaces

কোঠাবাড়ির প্রধান মসলা ইঁট, তার পড়ে চুন-সুরকির নানা বাঁধন। ধ্বনি দিয়ে আঁটবাঁধা শব্দই ভাষার ইঁট, বাংলায় তাকে বলি 'কথা'। নানারকম শব্দচিহ্নের গ্রন্থি দিয়ে এই কথাগুলোকে গেঁথে গেঁথে হয় ভাষা।

মাটির তাল নিয়ে চাকে ঘুরিয়ে ঘুরিয়ে কুমোর গড়ে তোলে হাঁড়িকুঁড়ি, নানা খেলনা, নানা মূর্তি। মানুষ সেইরকম গলার আওয়াজটাকে ঠোঁটে দাঁতে জিভে টাকরায় নাকের গর্তে ঘুরিয়ে ধ্বনির পুঞ্জ গড়ে তুলেছে; মানুষের মনের ঝোঁক, হৃদয়ের আবেগ সেইগুলোকে ঠেলা দিয়ে না আকার দিচ্ছে।

দোয়েল-কোকিলরাও ধ্বনি দিয়ে ভাব প্রকাশ করে। মানুষের ভাষার ধ্বনি তেমন সহজ নয়। মানুষের অন্য নানা আচরণের মতো প্রত্যেক শিশুকে নতুন করে শুরু করতে হয়েছে ভাষার অভ্যেস, জাগিয়ে রাখতে হয়েছে এর কৌশল। সেইজন্যে মানুষের ভাষা বাঁধা পড়ে যায় না একই অচল ঠাটে।

আস্তু আস্তু বদল তার চলেইছে, দু-তিনশো বছর আগেকার ভাষার সঙ্গে পরের ভাষার তফাত ঘটে আসছেই। তবু বিশেষ জাতের ভাষার মূল স্বভাবটা থেকে যায়, কেবল তার আচারের কিছু কিছু বদল হয়ে চলে। সেইজন্যেই প্রাচীন বাংলাভাষা বদল হতে হতে আধুনিক বাংলায় এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে, অমিল আছে যথেষ্ট, তবু তার স্বভাবের কাঠামোটাকে নিয়ে আছে তার ঐক্য।

ভাষাবিজ্ঞানীরা এই কাঠামোর বিচার করে ভাষার জাত নির্ণয় করেন।

সংস্কৃত ব্যাকরণে সমস্ত শব্দেরই এক-একটা মূল ধাতু আন্দাজ করা হয়েছে। সব আন্দাজগুলিই সম্পূর্ণ সত্য হোক বা না হোক, এর গোড়াকার তত্ত্বটাকে মানি। প্রাণজগতে প্রাণীসৃষ্টির আরম্ভে দেখা দেয় একটি একটি করে জীবকোষ, তার পরে তাদেরই সমবায়ে ক্রমে পরিস্ফুট হয়ে উঠতে থাকে অবয়বধারী জীব। এক-একটি জীব এক-একটি বিশেষ কার্যমো নিয়ে তাদের স্বাতন্ত্র্যের ইতিহাস অনুসরণ করে। জীববিজ্ঞানীরা তাদের সেই কার্যমোর ঐক্য থেকে নানা পরিবর্তনের ভিতরেও তাদের শ্রেণী নির্ণয় করেন।

ভারতবর্ষের কতকগুলি বিশেষ ভাষাকে ভাষাবিজ্ঞানী গৌড়ীয় ভাষা নাম দিয়ে তাদের মেলবন্ধন করেছেন। আমি বাঙালি, মারাই ভাষা শুনলে তার অর্থ বুঝতে পারি নে; কিন্তু দুটো ভাষায় যে এক জাতের, ভাষাবিজ্ঞানীরা সেটা ধরতে পেরেছেন তাদের কার্যমো থেকে। পুস্তু ভাষায় কথা কয় পাঠানেরা, ভারতবর্ষের পশ্চিম সীমানা পেরিয়ে; পূর্ব সীমানায় আমরা বলি বাংলা। কিন্তু দুই ভাষারী কঙ্কাল-সংস্থানের মধ্যে যে ঐক্য আছে তার থেকে বোঝা যায় এরা আত্মীয়। এই দুই ভাষাতেই বহুসংখ্যক ধ্বনি গড়ে উঠেছে শব্দ হয়ে। একটা মূলস্বভাব তাদের ঐক্য দিয়েছে। শব্দগুলো বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখলে সেই স্বভাবটা ধরা পড়ে। এর থেকে বোঝা যায়, এক-এক জাতির ভাষা তার স্বতন্ত্র খেয়ালের সৃষ্টি নয়। কতকগুলি মূল ধ্বনিসংকেতের আত্মীয়তা ধরা পড়ে তাঁদের কাছে, ভাষাদৃষ্টির অভিজ্ঞতা যাঁদের আছে। প্রাচীন যুগের ঘোড়া আর এখনকার ঘোড়ায় প্রভেদ আছে বিস্তর, কিন্তু তাদের কঙ্কালের ছাঁদ দেখলে বোঝা যায়, তারা এক বংশের। ভাষার মধ্যেও সেই কঙ্কালের ছাঁদের মিল পেলেই তাদের একজাতীয়তা ধরা পড়ে।

ভাষা বানিয়েছে মানুষ, একথা কিছু সত্য আবার অনেকখানি সত্য নয়। ভাষা যদি ব্যক্তিগত কোনো মানুষের বা দলের কৃত কার্য হত তা হলে তাকে বানানো বলতুম; কিন্তু ভাষা একটা সমগ্র জাতের লোকের মন থেকে, মুখ থেকে, ক্রমশই গড়ে উঠেছে। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন শ্রেণীর জমিতে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রকমের গাছপালা যেমন অভিব্যক্ত হয়ে ওঠে, ভাষার মূলপ্রকৃতিও তেমনি। মানুষের বাগযন্ত্র যদিও সব জাতের মধ্যেই একই ছাঁদের তবু তাদের চেহারা তফাত আছে, এও তেমনি। বাগযন্ত্রের একটা-কিছু সূক্ষ্ম ভেদ আছে, তাতেই উচ্চারণের গরন যায় বদলে। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন জাতের মুখে স্বরবর্ণ-ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণের মিশ্রণ ঘটাবার রাস্তায় তফাত দেখতে পাওয়া যায়। তার পরে তাদের চিন্তায় আছে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ছাঁচ, তাতে শব্দ জোড়বার ধরন ও ভাষার প্রকৃতি আলাদা করে দেয়। ভাষা প্রথমে আরম্ভ হয় নানারকম দৈবাৎ শব্দসংঘাতে, তার পরে মানুষের দেহমনের স্বভাব অনুসরণ করে সেই-সব সংকেতের

ধারায় সে ভরে উঠতে থাকে। পথহীন মাঠের মধ্যে দিয়ে যখন একজন বা দু-চারজন মানুষ কোনো-এক সময়ে চলে গেছে, তখন তাদের পায়ের চাপে মাটি ও ঘাস চাপা পড়ে একটা আকস্মিক সংকেত তৈরি হয়েছে। পরবর্তী পথিকেরা পায়ের তলায় তারই আহ্বান পায়। এমনি করে পদক্ষেপের প্রবাহে এ পথ চিহ্নিত হতে থাকে। যদি পরিশ্রম বাঁচাবার জন্যে মানুষ এ পথ বানাতে বিশেষ চেষ্টা করত তা হলে রাস্তা হত সিধে; কিন্তু দেখতে পাই মের্তো পথ চলেছে বেঁকেচুরে। তাতে রাস্তা দীর্ঘ হয়েছে কিনা সে কথা কেউ বিচার করে নি।

ভাষার আকস্মিক সংকেত এমনি করে অলক্ষ্যে টেনে নিয়ে চলেছে যে পথে সেটা আঁকাবাঁকা পথ। হিসেব করে তৈরী হয় নি, হয়েছে ইশারা থেকে ইশারায়। পুরোনো রাস্তা কিছু কিছু জীর্ণ হয়েছে, আবার তার উপরে নতুন সংস্কারেরও হাত পড়েছে। অনেক খুঁত আছে তার মধ্যে নানা স্থানেই সে যুক্তিসঙ্গত নয়। না হোক, তবু সে প্রানের জিনিস, সমস্ত জাতের প্রাণমনের সঙ্গে সে গেছে এক হয়ে।